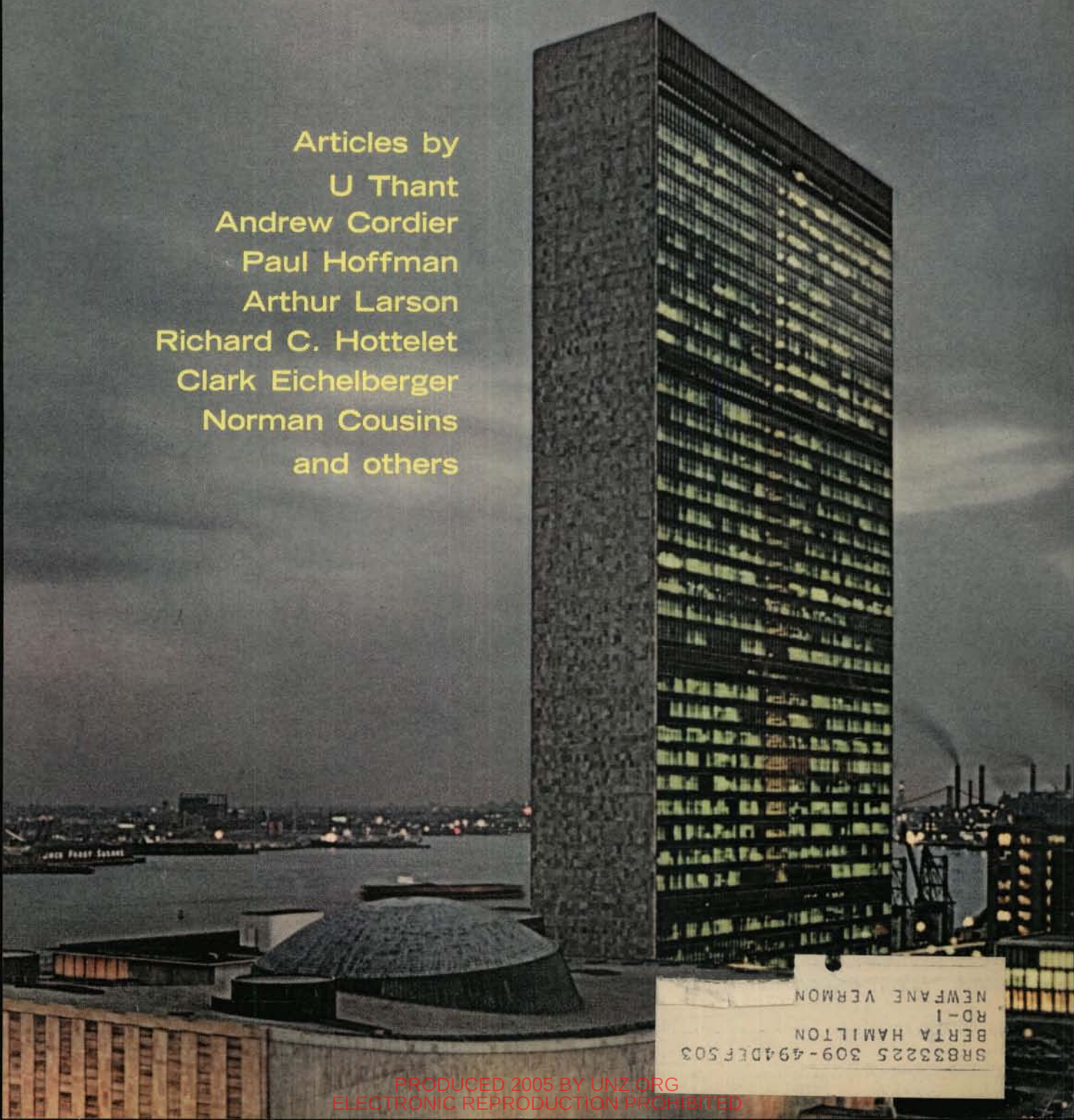
Saturday Review

July 24, 1965 25¢

THE U.N.: THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS

Articles by
U Thant
Andrew Cordier
Paul Hoffman
Arthur Larson
Richard C. Hottelet
Clark Eichelberger
Norman Cousins
and others



SR833225 309-49ADEF503
BERTA HAMILTON
RD-1
NEWFANE VERMON

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We thought we hadn't missed a spot. Then we spotted Ipanema.

We had been to Acapulco before the Jet Set found it. We had been to St. Tropez and St. Thomas. What we needed was a new playground.

Happily for us, a playboy acquaintance put his finger right on it. "Ipanema," he said, with the accent on the *Ip*.

"It's the latest find in smart resorts—and not many people have found it."

That did it. Not long afterward, we were on a Pan Am Jet headed for Brazil—and Ipanema.

Ipanema is a strip of land that looks on the Atlantic from the southern edge of Rio. It's a little bit of the Riviera with a dash of Jamaica thrown in. There are several miles of white sand, with dozens of choice restaurants, cafés and a race track nearby.

Best of all, Ipanema is right in Rio, probably the world's most beautiful city from the air. The perfect harbor is surrounded by purple mountains and street after street of white-and-pastel houses marching from the water's edge straight up the mountainsides.

When you come down to earth, there are miles of mosaic walks, fabulous restaurants, night clubs that go till dawn, shops that give Fifth Avenue a run for its money, plus music everywhere.

You really ought to fly down there and see it all. South America is a giant among continents, yet so easy to get around.

Fly Pan Am to Rio, for instance, and take advantage of no-extra-fare stopovers in oil-rich Caracas, Belém (on the Amazon), and Brasilia, the world's newest city. From Rio, you can fly Pan Am south to Buenos Aires. And, from there, fly Panagra west to Santiago, then north to Lima, the "City of Kings," then on to unspoiled Ecuador.

From there, Panagra will take you to a tame place called home.

A word from two airlines: Nobody knows South America like Pan Am-Panagra. This is the only airline system that can fly you completely 'round the continent. Fast Jets, frequent flights, a wealth of experience, plus the utmost in passenger comfort. You can see both coasts for the price of one on a round-trip ticket to Buenos Aires. See the East Coast with Pan Am, the West Coast with Panagra. Go one way, return the other. You can do it for less than you've ever dreamed. For instance, the new 30-day Jet economy excursion fare 'round the continent is just $550 from New York, $520 from Miami, $674 from Los Angeles.

PANAGRA • PAN AM

PAN AMERICAN-GRACE AIRWAYS PAN AMERICAN AIRWAYS

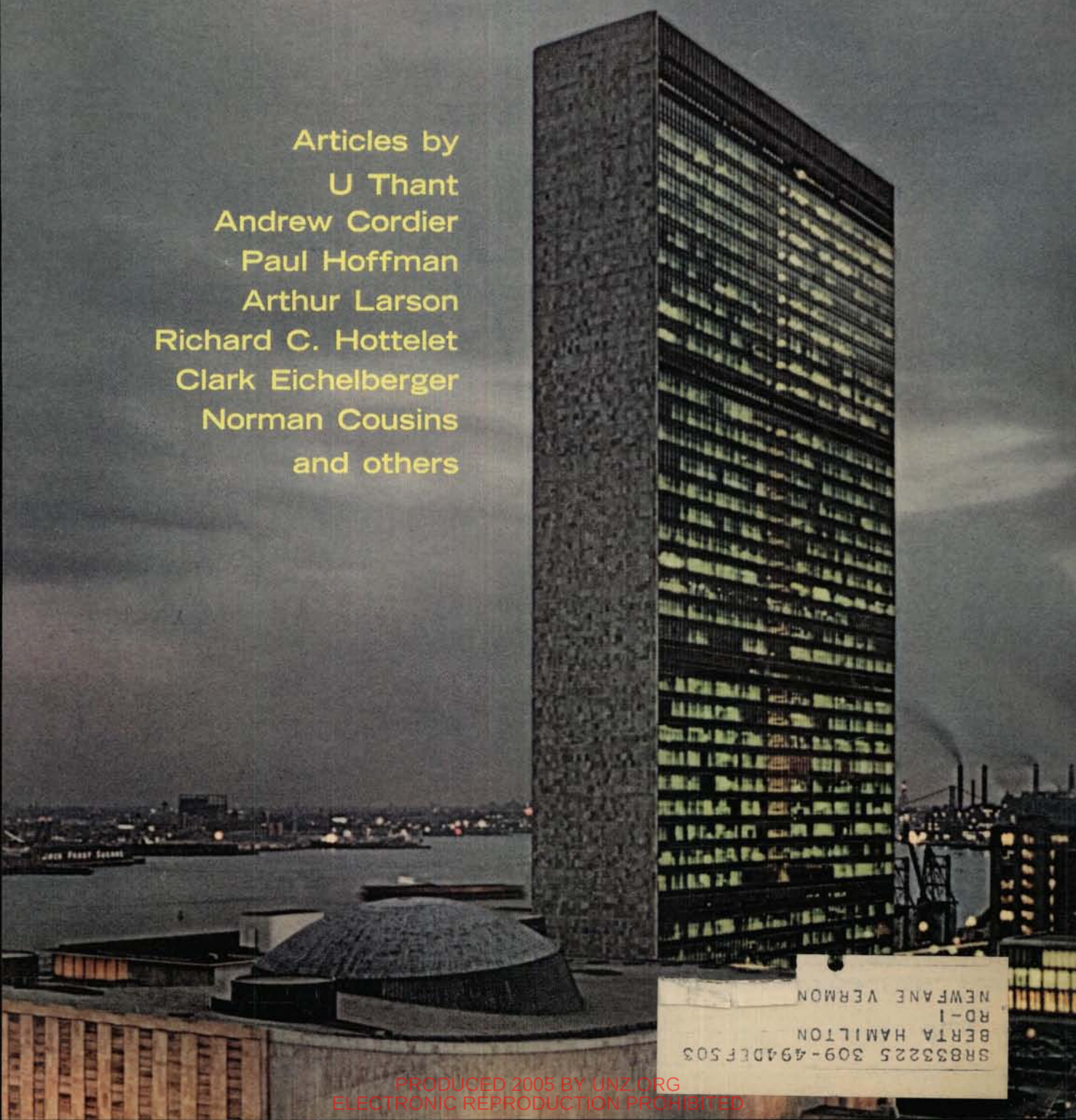
PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Saturday Review

July 24, 1965 25¢

THE U.N.: THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS

Articles by
U Thant
Andrew Cordier
Paul Hoffman
Arthur Larson
Richard C. Hottelet
Clark Eichelberger
Norman Cousins
and others



SR833225 309-49ADEF503
BERTA HAMILTON
RD-1
NEWFANE VERMON

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We thought we hadn't missed a spot. Then we spotted Ipanema.

We had been to Acapulco before the Jet Set found it. We had been to St. Tropez and St. Thomas. What we needed was a new playground.

Happily for us, a playboy acquaintance put his finger right on it. "Ipanema," he said, with the accent on the *Ip*.

"It's the latest find in smart resorts—and not many people have found it."

That did it. Not long afterward, we were on a Pan Am Jet headed for Brazil—and Ipanema.

Ipanema is a strip of land that looks on the Atlantic from the southern edge of Rio. It's a little bit of the Riviera with a dash of Jamaica thrown in. There are several miles of white sand, with dozens of choice restaurants, cafés and a race track nearby.

Best of all, Ipanema is right in Rio, probably the world's most beautiful city from the air. The perfect harbor is surrounded by purple mountains and street after street of white-and-pastel houses marching from the water's edge straight up the mountainsides.

When you come down to earth, there are miles of mosaic walks, fabulous restaurants, night clubs that go till dawn, shops that give Fifth Avenue a run for its money, plus music everywhere.

You really ought to fly down there and see it all. South America is a giant among continents, yet so easy to get around.

Fly Pan Am to Rio, for instance, and take advantage of no-extra-fare stopovers in oil-rich Caracas, Belém (on the Amazon), and Brasilia, the world's newest city. From Rio, you can fly Pan Am south to Buenos Aires. And, from there, fly Panagra west to Santiago, then north to Lima, the "City of Kings," then on to unspoiled Ecuador.

From there, Panagra will take you to a tame place called home.

A word from two airlines: Nobody knows South America like Pan Am-Panagra. This is the only airline system that can fly you completely 'round the continent. Fast Jets, frequent flights, a wealth of experience, plus the utmost in passenger comfort. You can see both coasts for the price of one on a round-trip ticket to Buenos Aires. See the East Coast with Pan Am, the West Coast with Panagra. Go one way, return the other. You can do it for less than you've ever dreamed. For instance, the new 30-day Jet economy excursion fare 'round the continent is just $550 from New York, $520 from Miami, $674 from Los Angeles.

PANAGRA • PAN AM

PAN AMERICAN-GRACE AIRWAYS PAN AMERICAN AIRWAYS

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OUTSTANDING SUMMER READING
recommended by the BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB

JUST FOR SELF-APPRAISAL: CHECK THE BOOKS YOU HAVE SO FAR FAILED TO "GET AROUND TO" THROUGH OVERBUSYNESS

To demonstrate how membership in the Club can effectually keep you from missing the particular books you want to read . . .
ANY THREE FOR ONLY $1
IN A SHORT EXPERIMENTAL SUBSCRIPTION
YOU SIMPLY AGREE TO BUY THREE ADDITIONAL CLUB SELECTIONS OR ALTERNATES DURING THE NEXT YEAR
☐ 203. UP THE DOWN STAIRCASE by BEL KAUFMAN (Ret. price $4.95)
☐ 198. FUNERAL IN BERLIN by LEN DEIGHTON. (Retail price $4.95)
☐ 199. DON'T STOP THE CARNIVAL by HERMAN WOUK (Retail price $4.95)
☐ 184. THE NEW MEANING OF TREASON by REBECCA WEST. (Retail price $6.95)
☐ 206. JOURNAL OF A SOUL by POPE JOHN XXIII. Illustrated. (Retail price $7.95)
☐ 148. THE ITALIANS by LUIGI BARZINI (Retail price $6.95)
☐ 205. THE AMBASSADOR by MORRIS L. WEST. (Retail price $4.95)
☐ 633. THE RECTOR OF JUSTIN by LOUIS AUCHINCLOSS (Retail price $4.95)
☐ 204. WHITE LOTUS by JOHN HERSEY (Retail price $6.95)
☐ 431. THE RISE AND FALL OF THE THIRD REICH by WILLIAM L. SHIRER (Retail price $10)
☐ 234. THE OXFORD HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE by SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON Illustrated. (Retail price $12.50)
☐ 106. REMINISCENCES by GENERAL DOUGLAS MAC ARTHUR Illus. (Ret. price $6.95)
☐ 127. THE MAN by IRVING WALLACE (Retail price $5.95)
☐ 616. PROFILES IN COURAGE by JOHN F. KENNEDY Memorial Edition (Retail price $5)

The most economical library-building system ever devised: BOOK-DIVIDENDS

THE EXPERIMENTAL MEMBERSHIP suggested here will not only prove, *by your own actual experience*, how effectually membership in the Book-of-the-Month Club **can keep you from missing, through overbusyness,** books you fully intend to read; it will also demonstrate another important advantage enjoyed by members: Book-Dividends. Through this unique profit-sharing system members can regularly receive valuable library volumes—at a small fraction of their price—simply by buying books they would buy anyway.

✶ **If you continue after this experimental membership,** you will receive, *with every Club choice you buy*, a Book-Dividend Certificate. Each Certificate, together with a nominal sum, **usually $1.00 or $1.50**—occasionally more for unusually expensive volumes—can be redeemed for a valuable Book-Dividend which you may choose from over a hundred fine library volumes whose retail prices average $7. This is probably the most economical system ever devised for building up a well-rounded home library. Since its inauguration the almost incredible sum of **over $330,000,000 worth of books (retail value) has been earned and received by Club members through this unique plan.**

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB, Inc. A166-7-2
345 Hudson Street, New York 14, N. Y.

Please enroll me as a member of the Book-of-the-Month Club and send me the three volumes whose numbers I have indicated in boxes below, billing me $1.00 for all three volumes. I agree to purchase at least three additional monthly Selections—or Alternates—during the first year I am a member. Members' prices for these books average 20% less than retail prices. I have the right to cancel my membership any time after buying these three books. If I continue after this trial, I am to receive a Book-Dividend Certificate with every Selection—or Alternate—I buy. Each Certificate together with a nominal sum can be redeemed for a Book-Dividend which I may choose from a wide variety always available. (A small charge is added to all book shipments to cover postage and mailing expense.) **PLEASE NOTE:** Occasionally the Club will offer two or more books together at *a special combined price*. Such purchases are counted as a single book in fulfilling the membership obligation.

INDICATE BY NUMBER IN BOXES BELOW THE THREE BOOKS YOU WANT

☐ ☐ ☐

MR. / MRS. / MISS } .....
(Please print plainly)

Address.....

City.....*Zone*.....*State*.....

The trademarks BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB *and* BOOK-DIVIDEND *are registered by Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc., in the U.S. Patent Office and in Canada.*

5-55

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ANNOUNCING SR's THIRTEENTH ANNUAL

WORLD TRAVEL PHOTO CONTEST

TWO GRAND PRIZES

A Trip to London for color winner:

A Trip to Hawaii for black-and-white winner:

PLUS 18 ADDITIONAL CASH PRIZES

Award-winning photographs will again be featured in Saturday Review's annual World Travel Calendar issue. This issue, appearing January 1, 1966, will report forthcoming events of major importance to tourists during the coming year in fifty countries.

The Calendar issue will be fully illustrated by the World Travel Awards photographs. One of the prize winners will be reproduced on the cover of the January 1st issue.

The winning pictures will be chosen by the following judges, all distinguished in the field of photography:

Norris Harkness—Past President, Photographic Society of America, syndicated columnist on photography.

Ivan Dmitri—Leading color and magazine photographer, Director, *Photography in the Fine Arts.*

Leopold Godowsky—Co-inventor of Kodachrome.

Margaret R. Weiss—Photography Editor, *Saturday Review*

The important thing is to read the complete rules below, and start sending in your entries now.

Deadline for entries is October 15, 1965.

Saturday Review

380 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

Should the Grand Prize winners prefer some other trip than the ones outlined above, the equivalent for one or two persons can be arranged on request.

Contest Rules

1. The contest is strictly for amateur photographers. Anyone is eligible except employees of SATURDAY REVIEW and the McCALL CORP., members of their families, and individuals who personally, or any members of whose families, are engaged in the manufacture, sale, commercial finishing, or professional use of photographic goods.

2. Pictures must have been taken after July 1, 1964, during a trip away from home for either holiday or business purposes.

3. Black-and-white photographs

a. Prints must be submitted in glossy prints 8 x 10 unmounted.

b. On the back of the photograph must appear: name and address of photographer; make of camera and film used in taking the picture; date and place it was shot.

c. Developing and printing may be done by a photo-finisher or the entrant. No composite pictures such as multiple printing or montages are eligible. No art-work or retouching on prints or negatives from which they are made is permitted.

d. No negatives should be submitted.

e. **NO BLACK AND WHITE PRINTS WILL BE RETURNED.**

4. Color photographs

a. Color pictures may be submitted as either slides *or* prints. Do not send slides and prints of the same picture.

b. Transparencies must be originals and must be mounted in cardboard only.

c. Color prints must be 8 x 8 or 8 x 10, unmounted.

d. Stereos are eligible. Only one tranparency need be sent.

e. The same data must be given as specified above for black-and-white prints and must be written on the mount of each transparency or on the back of each print.

f. Transparencies and color prints will be returned to entrant only if accompanied by return postage; a minimum of 10 cents.

5. SATURDAY REVIEW assumes no responsibility for negatives, prints or color transparencies, but reserves the right to publish within its own pages as part of the Awards competition any pictures submitted, whether winners or not.

6. To enter the contest, mail no more than two black-and-white pictures, and/or two color pictures to this magazine's WORLD TRAVEL PHOTOGRAPH CONTEST DEPARTMENT. All entries must be postmarked no later than October 15, 1965, to be eligible for judging. **IMPORTANT: NO MORE THAN FOUR PICTURES, TWO IN EACH CATEGORY, CAN BE SUBMITTED BY ANY ONE ENTRANT.**

7. Pictures will be judged on photographic quality and originality in choice and treatment of subject. The decision of the judges will be final.

8. Before receiving a final prize, the entrant must sign a statement that his picture, or any closely similar picture of the same subject or situation, has not been and will not be entered by him in any photographic contest other than the one conducted by this magazine without permission of SATURDAY REVIEW, and has not been and will not be offered for publication in any manner prior to January 1, 1966. Winning pictures become the property of SATURDAY REVIEW.

Saturday Review

July 24, 1965

Cover photo by Louis Goldman, Rapho-Guillumette

SR: Ideas

21 The U.N.: The Next Twenty Years—A Special Section with articles by Arthur Larson, U Thant, Richard C. Hottelet, Andrew W. Cordier, Paul G. Hoffman, Leslie Paffrath, Carlos P. Romulo, and Clark M. Eichelberger

36 Context for Peace: An Editorial

SR: Books

39 Literary Horizons, by Granville Hicks

39 Index of books reviewed

SR: Departments

6 Phoenix Nest, by Martin Levin

8 Trade Winds, by John G. Fuller

10 State of Affairs, by Henry Brandon

14 Top of My Head, by Goodman Ace

16 Manner of Speaking, by John Ciardi

38 Letters to the Editor

40 Literary Crypt

50 TV and Radio: Robert Lewis Shayon reviews *South African Essay*

51 *SR* Goes to the Movies: Hollis Alpert reviews *The Sandpiper*

52 As Others See Us, by James F. Fixx

54 Literary I.Q.

66 Kingsley Double-Crostic No. 1633

Saturday Review published weekly by Saturday Review, Inc., 380 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 10017. Chairman of the Board, J. R. Cominsky; President, Norman Cousins; Vice President and Treasurer, Nathan Cohn; Vice President and Secretary, W. D. Patterson; Advertising Director, Robert A. Burghardt; Manager of Advertising Sales, Harry T. Morris; Circulation Director, R. F. Goodman; Circulation Consultant, Bert Garmise; Assistant to the Publisher, Marion Urmy; Advertising Promotion Manager, William Donald Garson. Subscription $8 a year. Member Audit Bureau of Circulations Vol. XLVIII, No. 30, July 24, 1965. Second-class postage paid at New York, N. Y. and at additional mailing offices. Indexed in the "Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature."

© 1965 by Saturday Review, Inc. All rights reserved under the Berne and Pan-American Copyright Conventions. Reproduction in whole or in part of any article, without permission is prohibited. Printed in the United States of America.

Unsolicited manuscripts cannot be returned unless accompanied by a properly addressed envelope bearing sufficient postage. **Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of addresses to Subscription Department, SATURDAY REVIEW, 380 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 10017.**

BRANCH ADVERTISING OFFICES: Midwest Office: Raymond W. Welch, Jr., Mgr., 919 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago 11, Illinois; West Coast Offices: Fletcher S. Udall & Company, 1221 Hearst Building, San Francisco 3, California, and 422 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles 5, California; Bruce E. Miller, New Center Building, Detroit, Michigan 48202; Southeast Office: Ray Rickles & Co., Box 2008, Miami Beach 40, Florida.

Printed by the McCall Corporation, Dayton, Ohio.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Would you bathe a baby in secondhand water?

You would.

And do.

The clean water that bathes a baby today could have cooled a motor, quenched a fire, watered a rose garden, washed dishes, made paper, tempered steel, iced a drink or even bathed another baby only a day or two ago. More and more water is used water.

The challenging problem of today is keeping used water clean enough to use again. In more than 40 years of helping industry meet that challenge, Calgon Corporation has discovered there is no substitute for sound, experienced engineering when it comes to doing that job effectively and at realistic cost.

Learn how you can help industry and government in your area work towards sound, clean-water objectives—and perhaps how Calgon can help you. Write for "The Challenging Problems of Water," Calgon Corporation, Dept. K, Calgon Center, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15230.

Helping America answer the challenging problems of water

CALGON CORPORATION

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Edited by Martin Levin

The Red and the Black

NEW CLOCK DESIGNED TO TIME RHYTHM METHOD—*An electric clock designed to help married couples plan their families will go on sale this morning at Hammacher Schlemmer, 145 East 57th Street. . . . The clock works on a principle similar to that of a wrist watch that has on its dial a window showing the date. On the clock this space has a black indicator and a red light at the figure 3. . . . When it shows black, the married woman will know that conception is not possible. But when it is red, she will be able to go ahead and have children. . . .*

—The New York Times, June 28, 1965.

Now this is our Rodney
(And Rodney's a dear)
But it's really a caution
How Rodney came here—
Our clock is electric
The weather was warm,
And the thunder and lightning
Were making a storm.
Well, we glanced at the clock
Before going to bed,
But it must have got stuck
On the black—not the red.
So this is our Rodney
(Just see how he coos)—
The result of a burnt out
Electrical fuse.

—EDWIN D. KILBOURNE.

The Debriefing of Major Vebley

BEING a man who had little formal education, who knows five rules of grammar and isn't too certain about those, I am, quite naturally, a purist in regard to the English language. Misusages that I can recognize as misusages bug and bother me. I can't stand bum coinages. And I now have one in mind that I suspect is fairly bum. It concerns our involvement in the space race, an area where you would think people ought to talk sensibly, and with precision.

Before any of our astronauts are flung into orbit, they are given a long and painstaking *briefing*. The same is true with each of the Soviet spacecraft riders.

In the secret briefing room they say to the astronaut:

"Now, Orville, you know that little lever two-and-a-half, three inches long, over to the left, about level with your eyebrows? What's that for, Orville?"

"Turn on the air-conditioning?" suggests Orville.

"Nope."

"Is that the one that activates the sassatate tank?"

"Negative! It's the one you pull down on if you want to make a sharp right. Now, repeat after me . . ."

There follows a recitation on the location and purpose of the little sharp-right-turn lever.

Then on to the next lever, or push-button, or twitching needle, exact location of the spark plugs, how to extinguish a grease fire with salt, the correct way to shorten a rope by tying a sheepshank, how to fix a malfunction of the magneto, shooting pictures with a wide-angle lens.

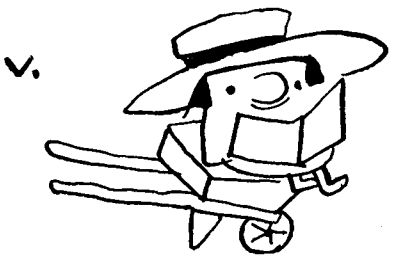
So we know what is meant by the word "briefing."

Now then, once briefed, the astronaut makes his prescribed circuits of the earth and then descends and splashes into the sea and he and his iron pagoda are hoisted onto the deck of a naval vessel. He is taken below immediately and given a quick physical check and a ham on rye. Then he is . . . but let the newspaper writer, or the newscaster, take it away:

"After that Major Vebley was flown by helicopter to an unannounced destination, a few hundred miles distant, for the customary debriefing."

There it is. Every one of them has to go through it. Every one of them, including that Soviet boy-and-girl team, had to be *de*briefed before returning to the cities for ticker-tape parades and mammoth press conferences and, in the case of Russian astronauts, wet kisses from the Head of State.

This is the thing that has bothered me: what on earth happens when they get Major Orville Vebley into that debriefing room? I have pondered the question for hours and now, at last, I have arrived at the only possible answer. There can be no other. There is only one conceivable way in which an astronaut can be *de*briefed. He is taken into the room. He stands before the debriefing team. The head of the team speaks.



"Orville," he says, "you remember all that stuff we told you during the three months of briefing at Cape Kennedy?"

"Yes, sir . . . I remember it very well."

"Okay. Now . . . *forget it!*"

"Yes, sir."

What was done before has now been undone. Major Orville Vebley has been debriefed. —H. ALLEN SMITH.

Far Out

Never Argue With a Book Reviewer

TO THE EDITOR OF [FILL IN NAME] BOOK REVIEW:

I don't mind honest criticism, but I must protest against Arthur Snide's review of my novel, *Heave!* If Mr. Snide had taken the trouble to read my book, he would have realized that Alice, the protagonist, is a boy and not a girl and that the action occurs in Grosse Pointe and not Greenpoint, and that it was Vernon's aunt Horace who was killed in the Spanish-American War, and not Alice himself. Alice is a Technician Fourth Grade in the Graves Registration Service, and his relationship with Lieutenant Winslow, an Army nurse, is the crux of the book—to which Mr. Snide never once refers. I am enclosing a review from the [fill in name] book review which is entirely fair and full of deserved praise for *Heave!* Mr. Snide's inaccurate and redundant comments are not worthy of your publication.

GEORGE FINSTER.

MR. SNIDE REPLIES

I am sorry that Miss Finster did not like my estimate of *Heave!* As a former enlisted man in the Graves Registration Service, I had occasion to know the remarkable Colonel Benjamin Gleep, who does not ever *appear* in this allegedly realistic novel. And even though I was only a Pfc. and Gleep a graduate of the Citadel (George C. Marshall's alma mater), we had many fine times together at the little bistros which the civilized French locate in the countryside in place of the Howard Johnsons that blot ours. Usually we would discuss Jewish literature—Peretz, Singer, Sholom Aleichem, with whom Gleep was surprisingly *au courant*—and their influence on Malamud, Roth, Bellow, and the current wave of Jewish-American novelists. I recall a remarkable insight that Gleep gave me into the work of Abraham Cahan, while lunching in the Hotel Vielle Fontaine in Maison Lafitte, just outside of Paris (the snails were truly superb). Space does not permit me to enlarge upon this here—but I hope to find room in my next book review. However, I trust this answers all of Miss Finster's objections.

ARTHUR SNIDE.

—M.L.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Forgotten road to success in writing

One of America's highest paid free-lance authors tells of opportunities often overlooked by people who want to write

By J. D. Ratcliff

I can't understand why more beginners don't take the short road to publication – by writing articles for magazines and newspapers.

Last year over 250,000 articles were bought by general magazines alone. And that's only part* of a huge market that will pay well for pieces of almost any length on just about any subject that comes naturally to you. I've made a good living for 25 years writing articles, and I've enjoyed every minute of it.

A wonderful life

I've interviewed a dozen Nobel Prize-winners, including Sir Alexander Fleming who discovered penicillin. I've talked with heads of state, at least one king, scores of leading industrialists. In the past year, I covered stories from Bangkok to Buffalo.

It's a wonderful life. No commuter trains to catch, no office routine. Whether I'm at home, or abroad on assignment, I write from 8 a.m. to noon every day – no more, no less. My afternoons are my own.

How to pick subjects that sell

A big advantage of article writing is that you can break in with material right out of your own everyday experience. One of the first pieces I sold was about the adventures of a test pilot I knew. Another told the story of a friend of mine caught in a balloon that ran wild. Check the contents of any general magazine; chances are you'll find articles you might have written.

You can make good use of your special interests too. One of mine is science, and it's provided dozens of story ideas – from accounts of dramatic new heart operations, to a report on an astronomical observatory built out of salvaged junk. Your passion may be insurance or religion or football, raising roses or raising children. Whatever it is, you should be able to draw on it for articles that could inform and entertain thousands of readers.

Knowing *what* to write is about half the battle. The other half is knowing *how*. To produce saleable articles, you must master the tools and techniques used by all successful professional writers.

You might develop these skills on your own through sheer blood, sweat and rejection slips. But when I look back, I can't help thinking of all the time and agony I would have saved if I could have found a real "pro" to work with me.

Such help is now available to beginners everywhere through the Famous Writers School – founded by Rod Serling, Faith Baldwin, Bruce Catton, Bennett Cerf, Max Shulman, Mignon G. Eberhart, Bergen Evans, Red Smith, John Caples, Rudolf Flesch, Mark Wiseman and myself.

A new kind of writing school

We poured all our secrets of success into a set of specially created textbooks and writing assignments. Then we worked out a method for bringing to each student, in his own home, the many hours of individual instruction a developing writer needs.

When you send an assignment to the School, one of our instructors – themselves all professional writers – spends up to two hours analyzing your work. He blue-pencils corrections on your manuscript, much as an editor does with established authors. And he returns it with a long letter of specific recommendations on how to improve your writing.

Your course begins with the fundamentals upon which every writing career must be built. Then you get concentrated training in writing articles and other non-fiction. (If you prefer, you may specialize in Fiction, Advertising or Business Writing.)

Students breaking into print

The School is young. Yet students, many still in training, have sold their work to over 100 different publications, including *Reader's Digest, Redbook, Popular Science.*

"I've done it!" writes Lillian Maas, after her first article was bought by *Better Homes & Gardens.* "I feel as if I'd joined a club composed of the most vital and literate individuals in the country."

"I've just sold an article to *True* for $1,000," reports Alfred E. Gaumer. "This is the first thing I've published in 20 years of trying, and I owe it all to your training."

Beyond the thrill of receiving that first check, our students find great intangible rewards in writing for publication. As my colleague Faith Baldwin puts it: "If one sentence you write opens a door for another human being . . . makes him see with your eyes and understand with your mind and heart, you'll gain a sense of fulfillment no other work can bring you."

Writing Aptitude Test offered

J. D. Ratcliff and the other Famous Writers have designed a revealing Aptitude Test. The coupon will bring you a copy, plus a 48-page brochure about the School. When you return the Test, it will be graded without charge by a member of the instructional staff. If you do well on the Test – or offer other evidence of writing aptitude – you may enroll for professional training by the School. You are, however, under absolutely no obligation to do so.

*11,000 newspapers and Sunday supplements also pay well for fresh material.

"Jack" Ratcliff on a typical afternoon stroll through the New Jersey woods, where he conceives many of the articles that prompted *Time* to name him "America's No. 1 craftsman in the field of non-fiction." Although he writes no more than four hours a day, he has had over 100 articles published in the *Reader's Digest,* and hundreds more in such magazines as *McCall's, The Saturday Evening Post* and *This Week.*

Famous Writers School
Dept. 6702, Westport Connecticut 06881

I want to know if I have writing aptitude worth developing. Please mail me, without obligation, your Aptitude Test and 48-page brochure.

Mr.
Mrs. ..... Age...
Miss (Please print)

Street .....

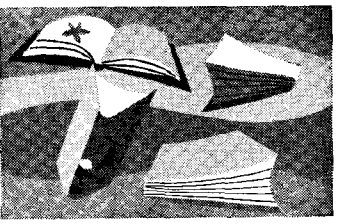
City .....

State
County ..... & Zip .....

Accredited by the Accrediting Commission of the National Home Study Council.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Trade Winds



In a beguiling little book called *Old Hilarity* (brought out, oddly enough, by the Michie Company, law publishers, in Charlottesville, Virginia), A. J. G. Priest recalls many anecdotes in varied fields, including politics, education, law, journalism, medicine, and sports. As a distinguished professor of law at the

University of Virginia, Mr. Priest has supplemented his academic work with his interest in the well-told story, which he has collected for more than sixty years.

Among the yarns he has gathered from the field of sport is the story of the football coach at one of Pennsylvania's colleges who plunged into a local coal mine to recruit a massive prospect for tackle. Unfortunately, the young miner was turned down because on his entrance exam he gave the total of 7 plus 7 as 15. Protesting vehemently, the coach screamed at the admissions officer: "You shoulda overlooked that mistake! He only missed it by three!"

Mr. Priest recalls another college where football players were permitted to read newspapers in class, but were sternly forbidden to rattle them. And, to top off the sports stories, there is the one about the athlete who was given a merciless spelling test by his professor, who called "Strike one!" and "Strike two!" as the athlete missed the first two words given him. Finally a sympathetic classmate hollered from the back of the room: "Make him pitch to you!"

But the myth that all athletes have nothing but muscles for brains has long since been disproven. Moe Berg, the major league catcher, was a brilliant man, even though the remark was bruited about that he "spoke nine languages, and couldn't hit in any of them." Hank Greenberg, first baseman, who is now among the greats in baseball's Hall of Fame, is a well-read person who could swing a bat or read a book with equal ease. Cookie Lavagetto, another baseball idol, did everything but carry a book to the dugout with him. Christy Mathewson, one of the great pitchers of all time, had a brain as sharp as a stainless-steel razor blade. Paul Green, the dramatist, was a semi-pro pitcher until his arm went bad. And Jackie Robinson, who was named to the Hall of Fame in 1962, starred in four sports in addition to being a scholar at UCLA.

Back in the days when boxing meant something, Jim Corbett, who toppled John L. Sullivan to become the first heavyweight champion under the Marquis of Queensberry Rules, was known for his brains as well as his brawn, as was Jack Johnson, who also wore the heavyweight crown. Gene Tunney was often seen with a volume of Shakespeare under his arm, and he showed his intelligence by back-pedaling from Jack Dempsey to win the world's championship by points instead of blood. Eddie Eagan, who held the amateur heavyweight title, warmed up on Plato and Socrates in his training periods. The exact position in history of Cassius Clay's poetry has yet to be determined, but he spouts it at the drop of a crying towel. Floyd Patterson has an extremely well-respected mind, as well as a long record of service to his community.

In football, a young man was told by his father that he would rather see him win one medal for scholarship than forty football games. This was in the late Thirties, in the state of Colorado. The recipient of this advice was Byron (Whizzer) White, who became a rare combination of brains, brawn, and brilliance. He was the greatest halfback in Colorado history, and he worked his way through Yale Law School by playing with the Pittsburgh Steelers. He eventually became John F. Kennedy's first appointment to the Supreme Court. Woodrow Wilson was, of course, not only President of the United States and President of Princeton University, but was a football coach as well. And President Eisenhower, as nearly everyone knows, played football at West Point.

More recently, **Dick Kazmaier** not only dazzled Princeton's football opponents, but he also dazzled his professors. Archie Roberts, at Columbia, did exactly the same thing last season. Bobby Kennedy played end for Harvard, while as an undergraduate John Hersey played the same position for Yale.

The sporting world, of course, attracts many people in the arts, whether they have ever actively participated in sports or not, and it is not at all unusual for pundits, academicians, scientists, writers, and playwrights to drop everything to take in a ball game or a boxing match. Others have applied their arts to athletics with a considerable amount of serious thought. Roger Bannister, for instance, the first man to crack the four-minute barrier in the mile, is a doctor. He utilized his medical knowledge painstakingly to determine just how much punishment the human body could take. When he broke the long-standing world record for the mile, he scientifically squeezed out every ounce of energy.

Chester Morris, the actor, is passionate about boxing but couldn't care less about baseball. His wife and son, however, are constantly swapping baseball trade talk at the dinner table, and so much baseball chatter has sunk into his subconscious that he was inspired to write the following poem:

PROGNOSTICATIONS BY A GUY
WHO KNOWS NOTHING
ABOUT BIG LEAGUE BASEBALL
(JUST ABBREVIATIONS)

If L.A. beats MINN.
And CLE. beats CINN.
And S.F. outplays K.C.
Then that means PHIL.
Will take on MIL.
Like Gimbels takes on Macy.
But if CHI. beats HOU.
And BALT. the two
N.Y. teams—then get set—
ST. LOU. and PITT. will have to hit
To beat BOS., WASH., and DET.

And to show that poetic beauty can pop up anywhere in the sporting world,

Mr. Priest reminds us of old-timer Charlie Dryden's comment on a baseball game in Chicago: "All the beauty and chivalry of Chicago were there: ten thousand chivs and five thousand beauts." —JOHN G. FULLER.

SOLUTION OF LAST WEEK'S
KINGSLEY DOUBLE-CROSTIC (No. 1632)

EDITH SITWELL:
TAKEN CARE OF

Eccentricity is often a kind of innocent pride, and the man of genius and the aristocrat are frequently regarded as eccentrics because genius and aristocrat are entirely unafraid of and uninfluenced by the opinions and vagaries of the crowd.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

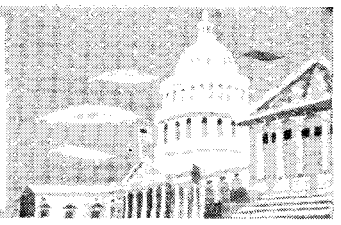
HOW TO TURN A PIECE OF GLASS INTO AN ELECTRONIC CIRCUIT

Actually, of course, the circuit is there all the time. It's the pattern printed on the glass. This pattern is, however, less than one millionth of an inch thick, and is so thin you can't see it when the glass is turned on edge. It is used in the new Electronic Switching System Western Electric is building for the Bell System communications network. ☐ Developed by our teammates at Bell Telephone Laboratories, these thin film circuits are remarkably compact and efficient. But producing them in volume presents Western Electric with unique manufacturing problems. For example, the thickness of the film throughout the entire circuit must not vary even one-half of one millionth of an inch! ☐ Solving such problems, however, is exactly what Western Electric has been doing ever since we became part of the Bell System in 1882. As the problems grow, so do our skills at solving them. That is why, today, we are able to produce the most advanced communications equipment, in volume and to the highest standards of quality and reliability. ☐ That's our responsibility as the manufacturing and supply unit of the Bell System.

Western Electric
MANUFACTURING & SUPPLY UNIT OF THE BELL SYSTEM

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

State of Affairs



Reminder at San Francisco

THE UNITED NATIONS' twentieth anniversary has come and gone, and nothing happened at the observances in San Francisco to lessen the crisis of the world organization. Nothing really was likely to, for the world does not live by anniversaries.

If the Soviet delegate spoke as if we were in the midst of the Cold War, President Johnson offered no comfort for the future, either. Only the Secretary-General, U Thant, in a thoughtfully somber speech (see page 24), went to the heart of the matter. He spoke not only about the immediate unresolved problems, the deadlock over the financing of peacekeeping operations, and the "various ominous conflicts in the world at large," but also about the long-term question that is often raised: whether the United Nations Charter needs modernization.

Any organization, of course, is likely to need certain adjustments after twenty years, and the agreed increases in the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council are cases in point. But to those who advocate more radical steps, the Secretary-General answered by saying that the central issue is not modernization but making the Charter work. The United Nations is the creature of the Great Powers, not a supranational power; its efficacy therefore depends on the extent to which the Great Powers are willing to make it succeed.

DURING the height of the Cold War the United Nations was more abused than used, but in spite of this—or perhaps because of it—the Charter proved flexible enough to withstand these disruptive pressures. The Soviets virtually paralyzed the work of the Security Council by the indiscriminate use of the veto, and later on the United States, by pushing through the Assembly the resolution called "Uniting for Peace" in order to circumvent the Soviet veto in the Security Council and to give the General Assembly greater powers, stretched the Charter beyond a point foreseen by its original drafters. Again, no serious damage was done, but the usefulness of the Assembly, at least from the United States' point of view, was blunted as its membership rapidly increased and the majority became less and less malleable to American coaxing.

We therefore find American officials saying that while they continue to believe in multilateralism, which the Soviet Union in a doctrinal sense does not, they will be much more cautious in the future in using the General Assembly; that they may have to lean more on the Security Council unless the General Assembly can be made somehow to reflect the power of the permanent members, whose privileges at present are safeguarded in the Security Council only through their right to veto. In other words, the United States would like to see the "disproportion between voting power and real power," as Richard N. Gardner recently put it, adjusted in the General Assembly.

Mr. Gardner, a former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, argued that unless something is done "it will be increasingly difficult to use the U.N. in the years ahead for important tasks of peacekeeping and development." The American complaint is that a two-thirds vote could now be put together in the General Assembly—at least in theory—by members representing only 10 per cent of the population of U.N. members and 5 per cent of contributions to the regular budget.

IN 1945 the U.S., Western Europe, and Latin America comprised 65 per cent of the U.N. membership. Now the Afro-Asian group, with 55 per cent of the membership, could dominate the Assembly; and with the added Latin Americans their strength could rise to even 75 per cent. In practice, however, the Afro-Asian bloc is not that homogeneous. What has happened is that it has made Assembly decisions more unpredictable. When the U.S., for example, sought a showdown over making payment for peacekeeping operations compulsory, it did not in the end press for a vote in the General Assembly; the outcome of the vote had become too uncertain.

What can be done, then, to make the unwieldy General Assembly more responsible than it now is?

Weighted voting, one idea often mentioned, exists in the four United Nations financial agencies—the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Finance Corporation,

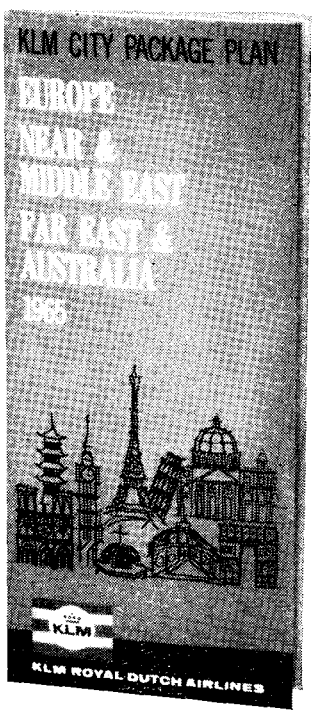
"We're nearing civilization. This foliage is plastic."

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FREE:

KLM City Package travel plan to 51 cities around the world

Here's a new KLM booklet that shows you how to plan your own independent vacation, figure the exact cost—and do the whole thing *in minutes*. First, pick the places you want to visit from KLM's 51-city list. For each city, you'll find a 1-, 2- or 3-day "package" that includes hotels, sightseeing, transfers—some meals. Add up the prices of all your "packages"—plus KLM air fare—and there's the total cost of your trip! Your travel agent will handle the details. Clip coupon for free 12-page booklet.



☐ **Please send me a free copy of your new "KLM City Package Plan" booklet.**

☐ Bonus offer: Also send me KLM's 208-page *book*, "Surprising Amsterdam," with *all* the facts on Europe's most surprising city. I enclose 25 cents in coin for mailing. (Note: you can pick up a *free* copy at your travel agent's.)

Name_____

Street_____

City_____ State_____ Zip Code_____

_____

(My travel agent is)

KLM Royal Dutch Airlines, G.P.O. Box 1869, New York, New York 10001. Telephone: PL 9-3600

SR-8

KLM

ROYAL DUTCH AIRLINES

See KLM-Cinerama's show "To the Moon and Beyond" at the World's Fair—Transportation and Travel Pavilion

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and the International Development Association—but these agencies operate quite independently of the U.N. and don't include Communist-bloc countries. In the General Assembly, however, it would be quite impossible to change the "one state, one vote" tradition.

Benjamin Cohen, who is occasionally heard from in his once-upon-a-time brain-truster capacity, recently proposed that General Assembly decisions on substantive matters should be made by a two-thirds majority of members present and voting, provided that the majority included two-thirds of the members of the Security Council. But again, as in the case of weighted voting, most members would insist that this required an amendment of the Charter.

A PROPOSAL by Peter Calvocoressi in the London *Observer* for a new peacekeeping authority within the United Nations, to consist of all nuclear powers, an equal number of medium, and an equal number of smaller powers, would not only involve changes in the Charter but would necessitate basic institutional changes—which again would be bound to founder on a Soviet veto. It would need, in fact, a weighted vote to make possible a weighted vote. Neither the Soviet Union nor France, and most likely not even the U.S. (if such a case arose), would allow the U.N. to override its own national interests.

The American idea to meet this difficulty, at least partially, and to achieve an effect akin to weighted voting, is a procedure used in parliaments throughout history: the preparation of proposals in smaller committees. In the United Nations' case, these subcommittees would be larger in membership than the Security Council but perhaps only a fourth or a fifth the size of the General Assembly, in order to give the large nations more weight. The hope would be that any proposals advanced by these subcommittees, while open to debate in the General Assembly, could be expected to get its approval. The idea, though, that the Assembly could approve proposals only in the form advanced by the committees has little prospect of acceptance. One current example of this procedure is the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (so far not very successful).

Most of the experienced hands around the United Nations have grave doubts about the prospect of any dramatic changes being really practical. Their hope is that as time passes the newest members from among the emerging nations will gain a better understanding of the world organization; they will then not regard it simply as a sounding board for their old grievances, or as a new toy to prove their importance on the world stage, but will gradually assume a more responsible attitude, as indeed some already have. This, more than anything else, might help to reduce the Great Powers' fear of being forced into unacceptable decisions by the U.N. Assembly majorities, and could lessen their tendency to seek refuge in the shelter of the Security Council where the veto affords them protection.

When all is said and done, the only real hope for the United Nations—at least for some time to come—is to make the Charter work. It was drafted with far more foresight than we realized twenty years ago. Unhappily, the world is not yet ready for a U.N. framework based more ideally on supranationalism; everybody wants peace, but everybody wants it on his own terms.

THE expectation twenty years ago was that tension among the Great Powers would diminish and that as a consequence the United Nations would gain in stature and power. Indeed, in 1963 this hope seemed to take on some reality as tension between the Soviet Union and the United States began markedly to fade. The improvement was soon reflected in the United Nations, where some of the past acrimony disappeared and consultation among the Big Powers behind the scenes seemed easier. The rivalry between Moscow and Peking still forced the Soviet Union into occasional shrillness—at least on the so-called colonial issues, when it felt obliged to prove it was as radical as China in supporting the interests of the emerging nations. Yet the General Assembly in 1963 was one of the more harmonious, and fairer winds began to waft across the council tables of the United Nations.

With the present unrest, particularly the war in Vietnam, it is scarcely surprising that U Thant is fearful of dampened hopes for more effective work in the United Nations, and fearful that the United States—the principal upholder of the United Nations—may downgrade the organization as it becomes less responsive to its own objectives. It is no wonder that he appealed for statesmanship and realism in order to make a go of the Charter, rather than asking for reforms. Basic changes in the U.N.'s frame of reference are simply impractical in the current state of international affairs.

If U Thant's warnings do not fall on deaf ears, that alone will have made the San Francisco convocation worthwhile. If not, the United Nations may eventually come to feel like those people who prefer to be reminded less and less of birthdays as they grow older.

—HENRY BRANDON.

"Well, now that you've found this perfectly unspoiled little corner of France, too, I hope you'll keep it a secret, Henry Adams!"

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

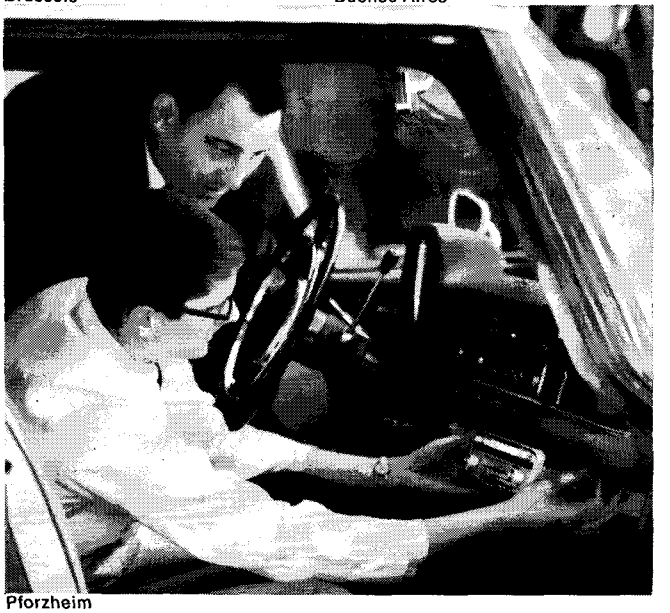
London

Rio De Janeiro

Brussels

Buenos Aires

Oslo



Pforzheim

ITT makes a world of products for people all over the world.

For over the past half-century, our companies have been finding out what on earth people need and then making these things for them.

It's a large undertaking because it includes worldwide manufacturing, marketing, selling and all the many other related activities that go into a service business. It is also a sensitive business, for in the end one must please the people.

All over the world, some 190,000 of our people turn out products for people who live in 115 different countries. Such products include radio, TV, phonographs, tape recorders, refrigerators and freezers, sold to the people of free Europe, Africa, Brazil and Argentina.

This has meant learning not only their languages but their *mores,* their trade methods, their diverse personal preferences and their economies. We've gotten to know them, and they us.

This has been good, for it has taught us that there is a universality in the goods and services that people not only require but aspire to own.

In becoming experts in our own business, we have become experts in getting to know people – all kinds of people.

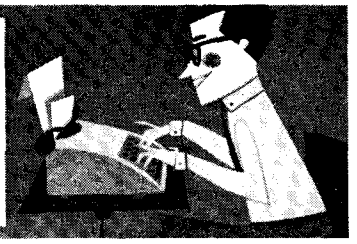
Everywhere.

Consumer Division, International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, New York, N.Y.

ITT

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Top of My Head



To TV or Not to TV

FORMER PRESIDENT Dwight Eisenhower and William Miller, the late Republican National Chairman, are in accord on one subject —that television cameras should be barred from the floor of the Presidential conventions. If this is accomplished, they claim, it will reduce the duration of a convention to two days.

Well, yes; maybe. A better solution would be to cut off the air conditioners. Between the heat of July and August and the hot air of politics, that'll do it.

Or another solution would be to keep the delegates away from the cameras. I don't remember noticing any delegate who was exactly camera-shy. As a matter of fact, every delegate I've seen who was approached on the convention floor by a TV reporter immediately assumed that look of *"Where is it? . . . over there? . . . the red light? . . . oh yes!"* Followed by an immediate shifting of profile and a huge, strained smile.

The popular sport nowadays seems to be to bar television from newsworthy happenings. Some of our judges, for instance, have barred the camera from trials of front-page names. Now it's the national conventions. But nobody has bothered to keep cameras away from the intimate affairs of the inhabitants of *Peyton Place.*

The complaint by Mr. Eisenhower is that TV viewers of both conventions come away with a picture of confusion, noise, and impossible deportment. Actually, this is putting the elephant and donkey before the cart. If the confusion, noise, and impossible deportment weren't there, the cameras wouldn't be, either. Nobody yet has thought of barring the cameras from South Vietnam, where confusion, noise, and impossible deportment are rampant. Is the General suggesting that this protracted war can be cut in half by barring TV?

As a matter of fact, television should be responsible for cutting down on the long, dull speeches of a convention, if it is true, as they say, that one picture is worth a thousand words. But it doesn't seem to work that way. It certainly doesn't work that way in the televising of our national pastime.

Recently I watched the telecast of a Yankee game. They had played the day before in Washington and were now engaged in a do-or-die battle with the Baltimore Orioles. These are desperate days for Yankee fans. Every game, every ball or strike is crucial. The ardent Yankee fan is tensed over his set trying to drag his team into the first division.

This night it seemed the Yanks would break the game wide open in the very first inning. Kubek had singled, Tresh had doubled. A grounder by Elston Howard had been fumbled by the Baltimore shortstop and a run had scored. A man was now on first and on third with one out. And this, in substance, is what one excited viewer heard from the announcer over all this action on the screen:

"WELL," said Red Barber, "we have just come from Washington. And all the talk down there is about President Johnson and the Great Society. Ball one. The President signed a bill to get rid of the excise taxes. And he wants us to put that money that we save back into the economy. Strike one. Well, Elston Howard was hit on the toe by a foul ball and it bruised him. He says he's going to have special plastic shoes made to protect him. And all the other catchers would have to follow suit and that's a lot of shoes that would have to be bought, and that's putting money back into the economy. Foul ball, strike two. And then Stottlemyre wants to get the final baseball he throws in every game he wins as a souvenir. Now if all the pitchers want that, that's 162 games. And there's ten teams in a league. Ten times 162—and then twice that to include the other league—you figure this out, Garagiola. Ball two. And then you have to figure at a dollar and a half a ball—that's putting a lot more money into the economy buying all those balls. Ball three. Have you got that figured out, Joe?"

"I don't know," said Joe. "I've got 3,240 here. But I don't know what they are."

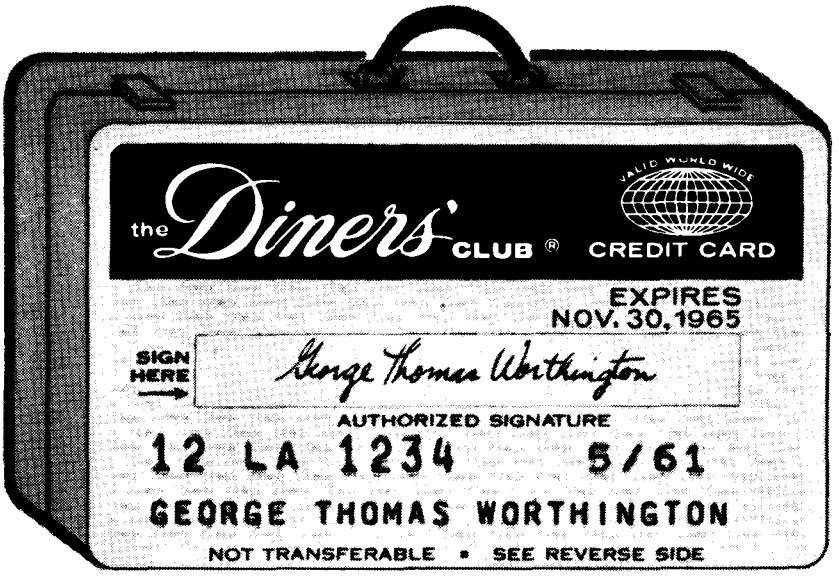
"A grounder to short," said Mr. Barber, "double play and the inning is over."

Educational TV was at this time interrupted by a most welcome commercial, which was followed by a quick trip to the refrigerator for a couple of badly needed bottles of the sponsor's product. Which was the least I could do to contribute to the national economy.

—GOODMAN ACE.

"Where's her wedding ring?"

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



packed...and ready to go

Here's what you carry with you when you carry a Diners' Club card: The convenience of charging travel on all major domestic airlines, and on many international airlines and ocean carriers as well... and the option to do so on a regular credit basis or on a time-payment plan with up to 24 months to pay ... the convenience of charging accommodations and dining at the world's finest hotels, motels, and restaurants... the convenience of charging gifts and store purchases, car rentals, and gas and services at gasoline stations all over the world.

And now*, another Diners' Club facility, Cook's Travelers Cheques, is added to make traveling easier for you.

Diners' Club members can, upon presentation of their Diners' Club card, secure Cook's Travelers Cheques with their own personal check at nearly 500 Thos. Cook & Son or Diners' Club offices throughout the world. This important new service enables Diners' Club members to carry the world's most respected and widely accepted travelers cheques instead of cash. Cook's Travelers Cheques are more than a service... they are an economy. Most travelers cheques cost $1 per $100. Cook's still cost only 75 cents per $100. Remember, to travel, you need only your Diners' Club card and Cook's Travelers Cheques.

It makes sense to carry the world's most important credit credential.

If you are not already a member of The Diners' Club, you should be. Fill out this application and send it today to: The Diners' Club, 10 Columbus Circle, New York, New York 10019.

*Effective August 1, 1965

DINERS' CLUB, Coliseum Tower, 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y., 10019
ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS—TYPE OR PRINT

FOR OFFICE USE

FULL NAME _____

RES. ADDRESS _____ (STREET) _____ (CITY) _____ (ZONE) _____ (STATE)

Phone _____ Rent home ____ Own home ____ Years at present address _____

COMPANY NAME _____ Nature of business _____

Address _____ (STREET) _____ (CITY) _____ (ZONE) _____ (STATE)

Phone _____ Years with above firm ____ Position _____

BANK & BRANCH ADDRESS _____
IF COMPANY ACCOUNT DESIRED, INDICATE COMPANY BANK

CHARGE ACCOUNTS AT _____

Reg. Checking ☐
Spec. Checking ☐
Savings ☐
Loan ☐

CHECK ONE ONLY
COMPANY ACCOUNT ☐ Bill sent to office address
PERSONAL ACCOUNT ☐ Bill sent to home address
PERSONAL ACCOUNT ☐ Bill sent to office address

Have you previously applied for, or held a Diners' Club Card? ____

If addition to existing account, show number _____

$11 FEE: ENCLOSED ☐ BILL ME ☐ covers 12 months' membership from date card is issued *(includes one year's subscription to Diners' Club Magazine at $1. Subscription optional.)*

Card holder assumes joint and several responsibility with company applicant.

SIGNATURE OF INDIVIDUAL APPLICANT _____

AUTHORIZATION FOR COMPANY ACCOUNT _____ (SIGNATURE OF EXECUTIVE) _____ (TITLE) **

** On company account two signatures required

11NY SR-1

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AN ALPHABESTIARY—PART IV

may as well be for QUEEN,
the feminine of King, and sometimes
of Prince. There have been many Queens
in history, and some of them
have been anything you care to
imagine. There are fewer now,
and they require much less imagination.
Some are still profiled on money
but all have suffered some devaluation.
Time is inflationary. It is easier
to put one's face on money
than to keep money up to face value.

is for RAT, the noise in man's wall.
Wherever man goes, in no time at all
his Rat will be heard at work in the dark.
It is written that Noah took on his ark
two beasts of each kind to Mount Ararat.
But surely genetics knows better than that:
though Noah took no more than two Rats aboard,
it's certain that what came ashore was a horde.

The moral of which is—with all due respect—
don't start saving worlds till you learn to select.

is three gray SQUIRRELS at a Mayday
in themselves, though it's November now,
pinwheeling in that beech. I may
never again see this world played so fast so
glad. Dante's angels at God-spree
round themselves round whatever tree
grows that high, could not be

sooner. Bliss, I think, is just this
squandering of energy that forever replaces
itself. Here, or There, it is
being able that blesses. Thoughts are carcasses
that can still see: as I sit here (slow,
fat, in the cadaver I shall go
nowhere in, as far as I know,

at no pace to nothing) and reach
for angels because three Sun-wound
gray Squirrels in that beech
chase one another's tails around
their perfect lack of idea; so caught
in themselves, so flung, so slackly taut
with everything they are that I am not.

, the TURTLE, has been a long time coming
through everything, including fablers and
logicians. Aesop had him outrunning rabbits
(a likely story), and Zeno proved that Hercules
could not overtake him because however fast
the hero ran, by the time he came to where
the turtle had been, it would have moved on.

What is this professional passion to speed him up?
Do we resent what sets its own pace? Wise Hercules,
unable to catch him by logic, simply overtook
him, and class was dismissed.
The fact is
that even with logic on his side, he is
slow. He *means* to be overtaken.
Then he stops being and becomes a box.
It's a trick he learned from the egg:
hatched from a shell, he returns to it.
There is less to fear in not being born.

Nevertheless there is no reason
for taking him too lightly.
What if he does go nowhere?—he travels
without leaving home. He is ugly,
certainly—but how long has it been
since your last beauty prize? Remember, too,
the turtle takes revenge: when savage boys
carve their initials on his back, he waits,
goes off, then waddles in fifty years later.
"Look at you now," he says. And there you are.

Mock the turtle if you will:
armor is its own species and survives.

is for UNCLE, a parent's brother
or aunt's husband, as the case may be.
Uncles are much like one another,
and often boozy. What children see
of Uncles is huge and full of jokes
and sometimes good for half a dollar.
Though twenty years later the old soaks
are not at all funny and seem much smaller .

Uncles are extra and fun to begin,
but when you grow up, they're not quite kin.

is for VICTOR, the beast that includes
most of the rest when their meeting concludes.

If you are a natural loser, shun
surprising encounters, or learn to run.

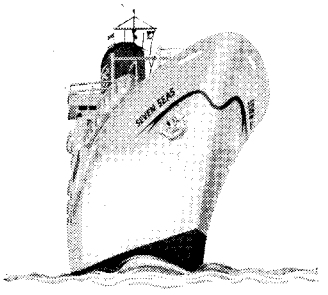
(*To be concluded next week.*)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHAPMAN COLLEGE

Seven Seas Division in cooperation with University of the Seven Seas Foundation announces

Liberal Arts Undergraduate and Graduate Program for Fall 1965 and Spring 1966 Semesters On Board the Floating Campus: m.s. Seven Seas Sailing Around the World



ITINERARIES

Fall 1965 semester (108 days) leaves New York on October 20, 1965. Ports of call are: Lisbon, Barcelona, Marseille, Naples (Rome), Piraeus (Athens), Istanbul, Alexandria, Port Said, Suez, Karachi, Bombay, Port Swettenham (Kuala Lumpur), Bangkok, Manila, Hong Kong, Yokohama, Honolulu. Arriving Los Angeles, February 4, 1966.

Spring 1966 semester (126 days) leaves Los Angeles on February 10, 1966. Ports of call are: Tahiti, Wellington, Sydney, Perth, Singapore, Madras, Colombo, Tamatave (Madagascar), Dar es Salaam (Tanzania), Djibouti (Somaliland), Ethiopia, Suez, Alexandria, Beirut, Haifa, Piraeus (Athens), Naples (Rome), Tunis, Casablanca, Funchal (Madeira). Arriving New York June 17, 1966.

RATES, TUITION AND FEES

Minimum rates for ship accommodation, meals and all service from $1,590.00 for fall semester and $1,690.00 for spring semester, plus tuition, orientation, field trip and visa fees totaling $800.00. Scholarships, loans and deferred payment plans available.

ACCREDITATION

Chapman College is fully accredited by the Western Association of Schools and Colleges and by the California State Board of Education for Elementary and Secondary Teaching Credentials. Chapman College holds membership in appropriate professional and educational associations.

TRANSCRIPTS

All students admitted to the program become Chapman College students and upon fulfilling its requirements will receive grades and credits in accordance with procedures on its land-based campus. Transcripts of credits upon satisfactory completion of the overseas program will be issued by Chapman College.

OPTIONS

Students may enroll for a single semester for transfer to another institution or enroll for a full academic year on board the floating campus. Students may furthermore enroll for a full academic year with one semester on the floating campus and the other at Chapman College in Orange, California.

INQUIRIES

Catalog listing courses for Fall 1965 and Spring 1966 semesters available upon request. Address all enrollment inquiries to: Director of Admissions, Chapman College (Seven Seas Division), 333 N. Glassell Street, Orange, California 92666. Telephone (714) 633-8821.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SR's Check List of the Week's New Books

Baseball

GRAND SLAM: The Secrets of Power Baseball. By Jim Bunning, Mickey Mantle, Whitey Ford, and Willie Mays. Viking. $2.95.

NOW WAIT A MINUTE, CASEY! By Maury Allen. Doubleday. $4.50.

Crime, Suspense

BEST DETECTIVE STORIES OF THE YEAR. Edited by Anthony Boucher. Dutton. $3.95.

COME OUT, COME OUT. By George Malcolm-Smith. Doubleday. $3.50.

DEATH BY INCHES. By Dell Shannon. Morrow. $3.95.

THE ONLY GOOD SECRETARY. By Jean Potts. Scribners. $3.50.

ROYAL FLUSH. By Rex Stout. Viking. $3.95.

THE SKIN DEALER. By Miles Tripp. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. $4.95.

THE TWISTED PEOPLE. By Judson Philips. Dodd, Mead. $3.50.

WAITING FOR A TIGER. By Ben Healey. Harper & Row. $3.95.

Current Affairs

FREEDOM SUMMER. By Sally Belfrage. Viking. $5.

MISSISSIPPI BLACK PAPER. Collected by the Council of Federated Organizations. Random House. Hardbound, $4.95. Paperback, $1.95.

THE POLITICS OF SOCIALISM. By R. H. S. Crossman. Atheneum. $5.95.

THE SOUTHERNER AND WORLD AFFAIRS. By Alfred O. Hero, Jr. Louisiana State Univ. Press. $12.

WHAT HAPPENED TO GOLDWATER? The Inside Story of the 1964 Republican Campaign. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. $5.95.

YOUTH AND COMMUNISM. By Richard Cornell. Walker. $6.50.

Education

FLEXIBLE SCHEDULING: Bold New Venture. By Donald C. Manlove and David W. Beggs, III. Indiana Univ. Press. $5.95.

INDEPENDENT STUDY: Bold New Venture. Edited by David W. Beggs, III and Edward G. Buffie. Indiana Univ. Press. $5.95.

Fiction

HECATOMB. By Bruce Palmer. Simon & Schuster. $7.50.

LEARN TO SAY GOODBYE. By Jan Middleton. Dodd, Mead. $3.75.

LET ME COUNT THE WAYS. By Peter De Vries. Little, Brown. $5.

PRINCESS VIC. By James Brough. Little, Brown. $4.95.

THE SUMMER OF SIR LANCELOT. By Richard Gordon. Doubleday. $3.95.

"Want to know something? If you buy this suit I'll be on the way up too."

History

ATOMIC DIPLOMACY: Hiroshima and Potsdam. By Gar Alperovitz. Simon & Schuster. $7.50.

DAY OF TRINITY. By Lansing Lamont. Atheneum. $6.95.

Miscellany

THE ART OF IRISH COOKING. By Monica Sheridan. Doubleday. $3.95.

FRACTURED ENGLISH. By Norton Mockridge. Doubleday. $2.95.

GEORGE ELIOT'S SCENES OF CLERICAL LIFE. By Thomas A. Noble. Yale.

THE HOUSE YOU WANT. By Lila Perl. McKay. $4.50.

MILK AND HONEY: Travails with a Donkey. By Paul Stanton. Morrow-Mill. $4.

MORE LOOKING IN JUNK SHOPS. By John Bedford. McKay. $3.95.

SELECTIONS FROM A TREASURY OF GREAT AMERICAN QUOTATIONS. Edited by Charles Hurd. Hawthorn. $2.95.

YOGA, YOUTH, AND REINCARNATION. By Jess Stearn. Doubleday. $5.95.

YOU SHOULD START SOONER. By John Gould. Little, Brown. $4.50.

Personal History

RUSSELL SAGE: The Money King. By Paul Sarnoff. Obolensky. $6.95.

STRANGE COMMUNISTS I HAVE KNOWN. By Bertram D. Wolfe. Stein & Day. $6.

THE SPIDER AND THE MARIONETTES. By Alan Dale. Lyle Stuart. $4.95.

Poetry

THIS LOVE WITHIN. By Nina Estrada. Doubleday. $2.95.

Religion

THE QUAKER CONTRIBUTION. By Harold Loukes. Macmillan. $2.95.

Sociology

AMERICAN WOMEN. Edited by Margaret Mead and Frances B. Kaplan. Scribners. $6.95.

NARCOTICS. Edited by Daniel M. Wilner and Gene G. Kassebaum. McGraw-Hill. $13.50.

Theater

FOUR PLAYS. *Romulus the Great, The Marriage of Mr. Mississippi, An Angel Comes to Babylon*, and *The Physicists*. By Friedrich Dürrenmatt. Grove. $6.

ME AND MY BIKE. By Dylan Thomas. McGraw-Hill. $5.

Travel

ENJOYING IRELAND: An Introduction and Guide. Devin-Adair. $4.95.

THE ISLES OF GREECE. By Robert Payne. Simon & Schuster. $7.50.

MADRID. By Nina Epton. Dodd, Mead. $4.

THE ROAD ACROSS CANADA. By Edward McCourt. St. Martin's. $4.95.

—Compiled by MIMI FRANKLIN.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unique new organ, new low price range: The Hammond K-111 spinet organ. Traditional styling in Mahogany. $895. Other models from $585. All prices include bench and local delivery. Prices subject to change without notice.

Amazing musical instrument for people who just don't have much time to practice

(There's never been a better year to buy a Hammond Organ)

PERHAPS, like many, you long to play music, but haven't time to spare for lessons.

Then here is a new musical instrument created especially for you—the new K-100 Series Hammond Organ.

There's never been a musical instrument quite like it.

You create, *automatically*, the sounds of Hawaiian guitar, banjo and an exciting new sound called Novavox. With a touch of the finger, you play harpsichord, marimba, mandolin, trumpet, trombone, woodwinds, strings.

You can play each instrumental sound by itself, or blend them into brilliant orchestral effects, with full organ accompaniment—all with a flick of the wrist.

A patented reverberation unit, a new sound system and 28 control tabs are all designed to make you sound good without a world of practice.

And this may be the best news of all: you can buy this newest Hammond Organ for just $895. Tone for tone, dollar for dollar, no other electronic instrument can touch it. And this year you can choose from the widest range of models ever offered.

Truly, there's never been a better year to buy a Hammond Organ. See your Hammond dealer now.

HAMMOND ORGAN COMPANY
4200 WEST DIVERSEY AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60639

Please send me complete information about the K-100 Series Hammond Organs. There is no cost or obligation.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ STATE_____
County Zip Code

Music's most glorious voice

HAMMOND ORGAN

Also makers of the Hammond Piano

SR 7-35R1

©1965 Hammond Organ Company

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Encyclopædia Britannica says:

The earth is being inhabited by a more intelligent form of life.

". . . after hundreds of millions of years during which nature's experiments have been going on in physical structure and function, a kind of animal finally appeared on the earth so constructed that he could become civilized. Man . . ."
—From CIVILIZATION AND CULTURE, Volume 5, page 824.

People.

As recently as 100,000 years ago, man was hardly standing on his own two feet.

Now look at him: taking pictures of the moon from a few feet away. Growing food on the desert. Mining metal from the sea.

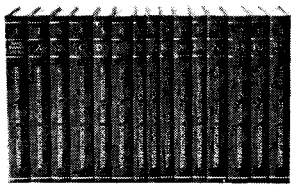
Eight year olds invent their own number tables nowadays, and master foreign languages.

So no one really doubts any more that a good reference set can stimulate and reward a searching young mind. But a lot of people don't know that the best elementary school encyclopedia ever published, Britannica Junior Encyclopædia, is actually given away, free of extra cost, to any family who buys the Encyclopædia Britannica.

Everything in the Britannica Junior Encyclopædia's 15 volumes is prepared under close editorial supervision by experts from the Encyclopædia Britannica itself. But all its 7,600 pages are written, illustrated, and edited expressly for boys and girls in grades 3 through 8. Contents are keyed to grammar school subjects with the kind of clarity and simplicity that makes the set easy, and rewarding, for a child to use all by himself.

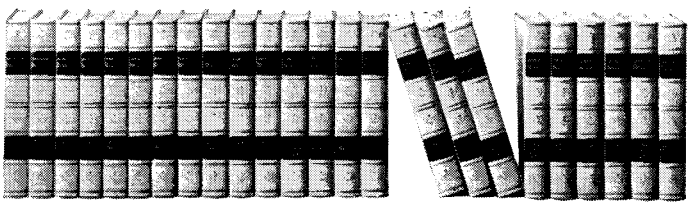
After all, no single encyclopedia can possibly serve the needs of an eight year old, and a high school senior, and a college student, and everybody else, with equal merit—although some try to make you think they can.

So you might say the Britannica Junior Encyclopædia is the only encyclopedia especially designed for a youngster to outgrow.



But the sooner he outgrows it, the better. For that's your sign the set has done its job to help him grow up intellectually . . . and into the Encyclopædia Britannica.

And there's no outgrowing that.



Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 425 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois 60611. Encyclopædia Britannica, Britannica Junior Encyclopædia, Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia, Great Books of the Western World, Britannica Schools, Encyclopædia Britannica Press, Inc., Encyclopædia Britannica Films, Inc., G. & C. Merriam Co. (publishers of Merriam-Webster Dictionaries.) For more information, write the address above.

17 : 68

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Saturday Review

July 24, 1965

THE U.N.: THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS

An Introduction

WHEN the United Nations was being fashioned at San Francisco twenty years ago, the concept of effective world law was resisted; they said it was too soon. Now they say it is too late.

Twenty years ago they said the United Nations couldn't be given the structure and authority to keep the peace because the U.N. couldn't be greater than the sum of its parts. Now the parts are breaking away from the whole.

In 1945 there were hopes that history could be rescued from the cynics and that realism at long last was on the side of hope. But in 1965, cynicism is a monster playing with a nuclear fuse.

At the end of World War II, leaders of the major nations promised to avoid a competition in armaments. Today the major nations vie with each other in their capacity to put a torch to the human nest.

At the core of the human situation in 1965 is the question of the relevance of the United Nations in the struggle for civilized survival. The purpose of this special issue of *Saturday Review* is not solely to commemorate the founding of the U.N., or to dissect and scrutinize it.

The purpose of this issue is to make a case for the future of the U.N.; to define the regenerative possibilities and forces within it; to summon energy for a fresh start; and to bear witness to the conviction that if the world is to have enduring peace under law, the place to look for it and build for it is the United Nations.

—*The Editors*

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Future of Peacekeeping

By ARTHUR LARSON

WHEN ANY human institution is not working as well as it should, the first essential is to determine whether the problem is "can't" or "won't."

The reason is that the appropriate remedial actions are quite different. If the institution can't work in the way intended, the solution is to change the institution so that it can work. But if the institution can work, and the problem is that people won't let it work or make it work, then the solution is to change the minds of people. The first course of action involves mechanical and constitutional alterations. The second involves politics, persuasion, education, and the molding of public opinion.

As to the United Nations, if the trouble is that it cannot in its present form do the jobs, especially the peacekeeping jobs, that it should be doing, the most profitable line of exertion would be to amend its Charter and alter its structure to give it the necessary capacity. This approach produces proposals for such fundamental changes as abolishing the Security Council veto, changing the one-nation-one-vote rule in the General Assembly, and making the United Nations over into a limited world government. But if the heart of the problem is "won't"—*i.e.*, that there are adequate though imperfect facilities that the members refuse to use—the stress should be on overcoming this resistance.

The two approaches are not necessarily incompatible, but may become so if either is overdrawn. For example, those who favor a sweeping overhaul of the Charter may, if they are not careful, find themselves proclaiming the present inadequacies of the United Nations so eloquently that they seem to confirm the judgment of those who now refuse to use the organization.

In analyzing whether the essence of the U.N. peacekeeping problem for the future is "can't" or "won't," we must identify the character of the threats to the peace that will be encountered. In most instances the pattern will probably be that of internal subversion and violence converted into an international danger because of outside support coming from rival powers, as in Greece in 1949, Lebanon in 1958, the Congo in 1960, and Vietnam today. The outside involvement will sometimes, but not necessarily always, reflect the Cold War struggle. It may, as in Cyprus, pit against each other two NATO allies, (then it was Greece and Turkey). There may also be outright old-fashioned invasions, of the Korea, Suez, and Sino-Indian border type, but these will be the exception rather than the rule.

Let us now inquire whether, as to the typical threat to the peace represented by revolution with outside involvement (with Vietnam as the most obvious contemporary testing ground), the United Nations' difficulty is one of "can't" or "won't."

The principal arguments put forward to support the view that the United Nations cannot handle this kind of task, and brief answers to these arguments, may be first outlined:

The U.N. cannot act without Great Power unanimity. Answer: The three largest peacekeeping operations ever undertaken by the U.N. went forward in spite of *de facto* opposition by at least one great power: the Korean action, the Suez action, and the Congo action. So did the Uniting for Peace Resolution and the U.N. bond issue. Trygve Lie's term as Secretary-General was extended over Soviet protest. Then, as in Hammarskjöld's final year, the Soviet Union even refused to recognize the Secretary-General, but he went on functioning all the same.

The veto makes the United Nations helpless. Answer: The General Assembly has the power, under the Uniting for Peace Resolution, to take peacekeeping action when the Security Council is prevented from doing so by the veto, and indeed has done so in the Suez case.

The General Assembly has grown so large as to make it an unwieldy agency for the taking of peacekeeping action. Answer: The General Assembly at the time of the Suez crisis took prompt and effective action—*after* the major influx of new members resulting chiefly from the decolonialization process. At the time of

THIS SPECIAL SECTION, commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations and looking ahead to its future, consists of articles by Arthur Larson, director of the Rule of Law Research Center at Duke University; Leslie Paffrath, president of the Johnson Foundation; Richard C. Hottelet, who has long been a close observer of the U.N. as a staff member of CBS News; Andrew W. Cordier, dean of Columbia University's School of International Affairs and a U.N. official from the organization's founding until 1962; Paul G. Hoffman, managing director of the U.N. Special Fund; Carlos P. Romulo, a former president of the U.N. General Assembly; and Clark M. Eichelberger, vice president of the United Nations Association of the United States of America. In addition, an editorial appears on page 36; an adaptation of Secretary-General U Thant's address at the recent U.N. anniversary observances in San Francisco appears on page 24; and some thoughts about the U.N. on its twentieth birthday by regular *SR* columnist Henry Brandon appear on page 10.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the first Suez vote in November 1956, the number of members stood at eighty-one, compared with the original fifty-one. The change in number of members from 1945 to 1956 (67 per cent) was twice as large in percentage terms as the change from 1956 to 1965 (34 per cent).

The United Nations cannot act with sufficient speed to cope with fast-breaking emergencies in the world. Answer: In the Suez crisis, the first United Nations Emergency Force was in Egypt ten days after the United States called for action. In the case of the Congo, in less than a week after the cables from the Congo, 3,500 troops consisting of twelve African and two European battalions and a number of military units of a smaller size and specialized character had arrived on the scene. When one considers the extraordinary character of these operations, bristling with unprecedented legal, financial, organizational, logistical, and command problems, the swiftness of both achievements must stand among the most remarkable administrative records of all time.

The U.N. is paralyzed by the financial crisis. Answer: There are two things at stake, a principle and a precedent. As to the principle, the United States has already lost by allowing the defaulters to vote once at the end of the last Assembly session. As to the specific precedent, it is unimportant, since no future peacekeeping activity will be financed by the same assessment procedures as those used in the UNEF and Congo cases. The U.S. has therefore little to lose by allowing the deadlock to be broken by modifying its position on Article 19. As to the question of how to raise money for any future peace force, it would still be possible to authorize peacekeeping action by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly and finance it through voluntary contributions by those members who think it important. Every action of the U.N. involving armed forces since the financial crisis struck has been financed in this voluntary way: West Irian, Yemen, and Cyprus. It follows that the one concession that should never be made in a disposition of the Article 19 problem is sacrifice of the residual right of the General Assembly to undertake peacekeeping actions. As long as the minimal procedure just described remains available, the peacekeeping potential of the U.N. can remain almost as great as two-thirds of the members want it to be; if it were ever traded away in exchange for a few million dollars of back payments, the bargain would be a bad one indeed.

In the case of Vietnam, the United Nations cannot handle the problem because the People's Republic of China, North Vietnam, and South Vietnam are not U.N. members. Answer: Article 2, Paragraph 6, of the Charter states:

> The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

North Vietnam and Communist China would not agree to U.N. action in Vietnam. Answer: Such acquiescence, while obviously desirable, would not be necessary, any more than the consent of Lebanon's neighbors was necessary to the creation of the United Nations Observer Group in Lebanon in 1958 or the consent of Tshombe was necessary to the Congo action.

The U.N. can't handle the problem of outside-supported internal insurgency. Answer: This problem was involved in the Congo, and while the U.N. was allowed to remain it was successful. Of course there are differences between the Congo and the Vietnam problems. But there are no insuperable difficulties inherent in the structure or powers of the U.N. or in the character of the peacekeeping problem in Vietnam itself.

The most troublesome obstacles are in the "won't" category, and it is these we must now examine.

The question of willingness to use U.N. resources in a problem such as that in Vietnam involves three parties: the United Nations itself, South Vietnam, and the United States. Would the U.N. accept this responsibility? Whether the U.N. would accept a role in Vietnam depends largely on what it were asked to do.

AN attempt will therefore be made here to outline the major specific components of a possible American proposal to the U.N. The boundaries of this proposal are dictated by two factors: how much latitude of action the U.N. would have to be allowed if its members were to be willing to take on the task; and how much restriction the United States would have to place on that latitude of action in order to safeguard the essential interests and objectives of the United States.

"Acceptable to the U.N." here does not necessarily mean acceptable to the Security Council and thus to the Soviet Union; it assumes the alternative possibility of action by the General Assembly under the Uniting for Peace Resolution, which would require acceptability to at least two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly.

It seems inescapable, for a start, that the U.N. would not accept a purely military burden in isolation from the political problem. There would be little support among the members for a "pacification" operation the objective of which was to maintain in power the current military regime or any regime similar to those that have succeeded each other since 1963. A minimum component in any objective acceptable to the U.N., therefore, would undoubtedly be a coalition government for South Vietnam, organized by negotiations among the Vietnamese themselves under U.N. supervision, in which all elements, including the Vietcong, would have some representation, to govern in the interval while an acceptable, permanent constitution is worked out. This does not mean turning the country over to the Communists. The purpose of United Nations supervision is specifically to avoid any such frustrating of its purpose in helping South Vietnam toward a stable government acceptable to its people and free from outside interference.

The process of working out this kind of political settlement as a concomitant to the elimination of armed violence is not new to the U.N. In principle it is quite similar to what was done in the Congo. While U.N. forces were engaged in military hostilities with Katangese forces, political negotiations went on, aimed at achieving acceptance of a federal constitution that the combatants could all live with. In December 1961 Tshombe purported to accept the Kitona Declaration, but then took no steps to follow up this agreement. Fighting broke out again, and on August 20, 1962, Secretary-General U Thant announced his own plan for peaceful reunification of

(*Continued on page* 61)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW IDEAS FOR A NEW WORLD

By U THANT

TWENTY YEARS is a long time in the life of an individual, but a short one in the development of a great political institution. With our human tendency to impatience, we find it hard to accept the time lag between the formulation of an idea and its practical realization, and we are sometimes inclined to question the validity of an idea before it has had time to prove itself, or even to reject it impatiently before it has had the chance to take root and grow. Our experience of international relations in the past twenty years may sometimes tempt us to react in this way about the Charter of the United Nations.

It is a merciful fact of life that time diminishes and dims the memories of misery and horror. Time has also blunted that sense of danger and of urgency that produced the Charter. Thus we hear a good deal of talk now about the adaptation of the Charter to the modern world—talk which sometimes evades the central issue of making the Charter a working reality. There is no doubt that the world has changed in many ways since 1945, some of them unexpected, and that corresponding adjustments in the United Nations are desirable. On a previous occasion I have myself referred to the anachronistic character of certain provisions of the Charter. But defeatist thinking about the possibility or the necessity of world order merely turns a blind eye to the perils of the future because of the difficulties of the present. Should we succumb to such facile arguments we would stand convicted of gross irresponsibility by future generations. I believe, therefore, that the most important thing we can do at the twentieth anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations is to think back to the tragedies and agonies that made the Charter possible and, in resolving that humanity shall never be so afflicted again, rededicate ourselves to its aims and ideals. Having done this, we must look to the future with statesmanship as well as realism.

The danger is not, it seems to me, that the Charter will prove inadequate or unsuited to our purposes and policies. It is rather that our purposes and policies are inadequate, and in some cases inimical, to the fulfilment of the purposes and principles to which the United Nations enthusiastically subscribed twenty years ago. It is this inadequacy, which we think we can afford in relatively peaceful times, that we must guard against.

It was never realistic to suppose governments would, in a short period of time, be able to accept and act on all the practical implications of the ideals and aims to which they subscribed in signing the Charter. On the other hand, if we want some better system for peace and security than an unsteady balance of nationalistic power and aspiration, we need to work long and hard to remove the many obstacles in the way, and in that process develop a new system of relationships between states that really correspond to present needs and conditions. While working on that task we must look to the Charter as an inspiration and a goal, without any illusions as to the ease with which its objectives can be attained. If we need to assure ourselves that the goal is worth attaining, we need only turn our thoughts for a moment to the probable alternative.

I do not wish here to look back at the past twenty years either to applaud what has been done or to regret what has not been done. I do not propose to refer to our current situation except to say that it demands an urgent and serious effort by all nations to make a reality of the aims of the Charter before we revert in disunity to the helpless condition that preceded World War II. It is all too clear that the unsolved problems within the United Nations over Article 19 and peacekeeping, combined with various ominous conflicts in the world at large, present us with a deeply disturbing situation. Despite this, I would like rather to turn to the future, with its problems and its possibilities.

In 1946 Sir Winston Churchill said of the League of Nations:

> The League of Nations did not fail because of its principles and conceptions. It failed because these principles were deserted by those states which had brought it into being. It failed because the governments of those states feared to face the facts and act while time remained. This disaster must not be repeated.

We are luckier than our fathers were in the twentieth year of the League of Nations, because we still have time to face the facts. It is, however, essential that a sense of false security should not lull us once again into the belief that somehow war can be avoided in a world where the unbridled rivalry of nations is the dominant factor of international life. That is the condition in which the drift to war almost imperceptibly gathers momentum until it becomes irresistible and inescapable. That is what we must, by a conscious and concerted effort, avoid.

DISTURBING developments in various parts of the world today have, of course, direct repercussions all over the world, and for that matter on the United Nations, which is in many ways a mirror of the world. There is a danger that we may become so preoccupied with the immediate crises in Southeast Asia, in the Caribbean, in the Middle East, and elsewhere that we are likely to ignore the larger crisis that looms behind them. That wider crisis must be understood and assessed. The most serious casualty of the present conflict will be the precarious détente between East and West that has been built and nurtured so laboriously and patiently in the last ten years or so. The United Nations has contributed significantly toward that détente by serving as a catalyst, a forum, and an agency for the peaceful settlement of disputes and the relaxation of East-West tensions.

I had hoped that this détente, to be meaningful, would extend to other areas of the globe, since peace is indivisible. But we have witnessed, and are still witnessing, certain tendencies for the Cold War to intensify, and also to extend to areas that have so far been relatively immune. This trend must be arrested and reversed if humanity is to be saved from the scourge of war, the primary motivation behind the founding of the United Nations. The international community on this small planet should comprise all men and women irrespective of race and creed. As Pierre Teilhard de Chardin had observed, life should

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

move toward a higher plane than this one on which we now live. He was undismayed by the ideological clashes men must pass through before they achieve a world community. He saw a great evolution leading toward "a common soul in this vast body"—mankind.

I believe that we are increasingly conscious of the need to harmonize our thoughts and actions toward that end. We have an increasing fear and hatred of war throughout the world, based partly upon the new destructive power of weapons and partly upon a moral revulsion against violence. The voices of peoples all over the world are raised, as never before, against war and actions likely to lead to war. We have the balance of terror between the nuclear powers, but the proliferation of nuclear weapons may end the nuclear monopoly of the major powers while greatly increasing the risks involved. We have a general agreement, in principle at least, that the domination of one nation or group of nations by another is intolerable, and that mutual aid and cooperation is the best basis for the relationship between nations. We have the possibility of raising standards of living and opportunity through inter-

national cooperation—an immense incentive to peace. We can, if we work together, provide, within a generation or so, a much higher standard of living and reasonable opportunities for all men.

We have the possibility of great advances in science, in technology, and in the unexplored realms of the human mind as well as in outer space—advances all of which will be more rapid and less risky if the skill and talent of all nations can be combined in an organized effort. Finally, we have an agreed framework, the United Nations system, within which, if we wish, we can pursue our aims and bring about an orderly development in international life. This all adds up to a considerable balance sheet of assets.

Our problems and liabilities are also considerable, and we sometimes tend to be more impressed by them than by our assets. The greatest obstacle to the realization of the Charter is the inescapable fact that power politics still operates, both overtly and covertly, in international relations. The concept of power politics, whether as the instrument of nationalism or of ideological extremism, is the natural enemy of international order as envisaged in the Charter. It is also an expensive, and potentially disastrous, anachronism. Patriotism, national pride, or ideological conviction can and must take new and more creative forms than the old concepts of political domination or material power. This is a challenge to statesmanship and political genius in all regions of the world. The basic ideas and machinery are all there; they await the national policies and actions that will put life and strength into them.

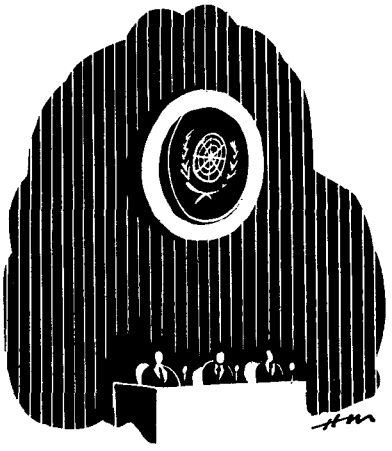
Such policies will not in the beginning be easy for governments, especially powerful ones, to adopt. The larger interests of world peace, the will or opinion of the majority of nations, or the accreditation of national prestige to international order will initially often prove hard to accept. But some governments have already found such acceptance possible without suffering disaster, and their example should encourage others.

Even if the problem of power politics were solved, we have to face other basic facts. It is now commonplace to refer to the gulf between developed and underdeveloped nations, to the population explosion, to the conservation of natural resources, to the world food problem, or to the social consequences of material development. All of us know the statistics of world poverty and the frustration of the developing countries. We are also aware in our own countries that material progress brings with it a host of complications and tensions. And yet, obsessed as we are with our other apprehensions, we still tend to think in small and old-fashioned terms about fundamental challenges. Our plans to meet them are fragmentary and our resources, both human and material, pitifully inadequate —and meanwhile the clock ticks inexorably on. These are problems which never present the kind of dramatic ultimatum that questions of peace and war present. They slowly build up their crushing weight of misery until the human tragedy becomes overwhelming. We know all of this and we can together do something about it. We need new approaches and new ideas for our new world. To produce them requires both genius and cooperation. The machinery for cooperation awaits us in the Charter.

We also have a basic problem in our varied heritage of prejudice, resentment, and nationalistic feelings. These are relics from a slower, more isolated, less populated age. They have no place in a liberal and dynamic world of change and progress. Nonetheless they are frequently exploited or artificially preserved to sustain other struggles. At our best, we know how outmoded and irrelevant these national and racial prejudices are, but we still need a strong and conscious effort to overcome them.

The key to these problems, and many more besides, is to be found in the Charter, and with it we can open the door to an order and a world society worthy of this remarkable century. Only the sovereign member governments and their peoples, working together in the world and in the United Nations, can open that door, and it is imperative that they should do so urgently.

Is it really only the scourge of war or the lash of terror that can move us toward the goal of peace and justice in the world? Can we not make the effort to advance out of our own sense of responsibility and knowledge, rather than be driven like refugees before the storm that may be unleashed by our inability to take hold of the future? I believe not only that we can but that we must make the effort.



PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

—*Wide World.*

Scene of struggle—Russian delegate Andrei Gromyko walks out on a Security Council meeting in 1946.

THE U.N.: THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS

The Same Mandate, a Different World

By RICHARD C. HOTTELET

AS THE Security Council's Dominican debate in May rasped its way from acrimony through vituperation to a fruitless recess, one of the brightest men at the horseshoe table uttered a warning.

Arsene Usher of the Ivory Coast recalled the words of an unnamed Latin American ambassador: "You know, here there are always certain things that disappear. When there is a dispute between two small powers, if we deal with it the conflict between the two small powers disappears. If there is a dispute between a great power and a small power, alas the sad truth is that the small power disappears. If there is a dispute between two great powers, then it is dramatic, because it is the United Nations that disappears." And, added M. Usher, "I think that the Security Council is about to disappear. . . ."

For twenty years the United Nations has struggled with the implications of this by no means invalid assessment. Disappear may seem too strong a word. Today the organization has 114 members. Only Indonesia has withdrawn. The U.N.'s activities reach around the world. Its over-all annual budget is in the neighborhood of $500 million, mainly for the U.N. Special Fund and the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance as well as for the work of its specialized agencies—UNESCO, the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the rest. But the political role in which the United Nations was cast by the charter signed in San Francisco on June 26, 1945, is bitterly in dispute. Politically the U.N. appears to have been reduced to a state of impotence or, at very least, to a condition in which it can act only in occasional, auspicious concatenations of circumstance. Wishful hopes at its birth that the U.N. might be the key to the millenium of peace were dashed all too soon. Now it seems that even the more modest desire for an organization that would be somewhat more than the sum of its parts —able to fill vacuums and ward off emergencies in the name of the world community and its freely adopted charter—has slipped beyond immediate reach.

Two things have become clear. First, the real hope and pressing need for an agency to help keep the peace in a changing world were combined with a false premise: that the major signatories were interested in the same kind of peace and the same kind of change. Second, the globe itself, in a period of widespread upheaval, has been transformed beyond the scope of the literal charter or the original blueprint of the U.N. organization. It is the stress of this seismic shift that is felt in the financial constitutional crisis now paralyzing the General Assembly and shaking the entire structure. No $62,000,000 misunderstanding is big enough to tear the U.N. apart, nor is a dispute over Article 19 or any other technicality in the Charter. The U.N.'s crisis today is political in the deepest sense of the word, engaging the interests and philosophies of great nations.

It is easier now than it was twenty years ago to see where confidence was misplaced or the risk poorly calculated in creating the United Nations. But no amount of hindsight invalidates the purpose of the Charter as far as the United States and most of the other members are concerned. Emerging from a six-year world war of unparalleled intensity, compounded with mechanized, rationalized bestiality, the human race seemed determined to start anew. The old system of coalitions and power balance had only set the stage for the biggest conflict of all. Sad experience with the League of Nations had shown where good intentions could go wrong. Even before the explosion at Los Alamos sounded the start of the nuclear age, most men believed that war had priced itself out of the market. Simple prudence required the construction of machinery to ensure a lasting peace.

Idealism was in it, too, without which

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

—*Wide World.*

The U.N. in the Cuban crisis—Adlai Stevenson reads a statement from President Kennedy.

no great work of man (even a bad one) is carried forward. And it helped—as far as the West was concerned—to overcome certain qualms and difficulties that arose at the beginning. The alliance with the Soviet Union had never been easy. It became more difficult as victory over the Axis drew nearer. The broad principles of a United Nations were shot through with practical disputes over voting and representation and organization. The Soviet Union worked consistently to impose on the U.N. a form and a mandate that could not be used against Soviet desires or without Moscow's consent, even if that crippled the U.N.'s effectiveness.

The United States, striving for maximum capacity in the organization, was prepared to be realistic in the face of Soviet insistence and the demands of domestic critics. Washington readily accepted the veto—would not, in fact, have joined the U.N. without it. Obviously, when it came to enforcing a Security Council decision with military means against an aggressor, this could be done only with the approval of the big five. And none of them could be expected to surrender the power in the last resort to protect itself against a misuse of the charter. The big powers later registered the assurance that the veto would not be invoked unnecessarily. But that meant nothing. So deep was the conflict between the restrictive and liberal interpretations of the charter that President Truman, late in the day, threatened to withdraw the United States from the San Francisco Conference and from the United Nations if the Soviets insisted on retaining the procedural veto as well—the right to prevent issues from even being raised in the Security Council. And it was no good augury that Moscow's open violation of the self-determination principle in the Yalta agreement, its maneuvering to impose a Communist government on Poland once and for all, kept Poland from being represented at San Francisco.

The course of Soviet policy, inside and outside the U.N., moved Adlai Stevenson, at the time of the Cuban missile crisis, to ask bitterly whether the Soviet Union had ever really joined the United Nations. "Or does its philosophy of history and its concept of the future," he asked, "run counter to the pluralistic concept of the Charter?" But, in the early years, the disposition was still strong to speak of growing pains and necessary adjustment. This was the case when the first Russian veto was cast not in the defense of a vital interest but because a Security Council resolution on the presence of Anglo-French troops in Syria and Lebanon did not condemn Britain and France in terms violent enough to suit the Kremlin.

A month later, Andrei Gromyko walked out of the Security Council because it insisted on discussing Iran's demand for Soviet withdrawal from Iranian soil. And three months after that, in June 1946, the Kremlin took the third portentous step of turning down the Baruch Plan. The Soviet Union had apparently concluded that it wanted nuclear equality in pursuit of its national advantage more than nuclear security in a system of international control.

Thus Russia's basic attitude toward the U.N. was clear before the organization was eight months old. Moscow saw the United Nations not as a noble venture in which egoistic aims could be reconciled and sovereignties ultimately merged in a system of world law, but as a vehicle for the exercise of Soviet influence in the postwar world.

The Kremlin's view may have been reflected most accurately in Stalin's dictum that there was no real difference between the old Fascist enemy and Russia's Western capitalist allies. Foreseeing further clashes of interest, he joined a world organization together with his capitalist adversaries primarily in order to have his foot on the brake.

BUT the Charter is couched in terms of mutual interest. One objective common to the Soviets and the West is the prevention of a third world war. The Charter begins with the words, "We, the Peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind. . . ." Referring repeatedly to the maintenance of international peace and security, it provides a graduated scale of measures to settle disputes and to restore peace. But, naturally enough in the context of 1945, the danger that dominates the document is the pattern of aggression acted out in World War II. It is the great coalition of that war that must deal with the new threat. The United Nations military forces, conceived as the sharp teeth of the organization, are to be at the disposal of the Security Council with its Great Power veto.

However, the main contingency for which the peacekeeping machinery of the U.N. was devised has never arisen, even remotely. Italy, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria have long since lost the onus of former enemies. Japan has

(*Continued on page 58*)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Weaponry of Quiet Diplomacy

By ANDREW W. CORDIER

THIS IS a year of grave crises inside and outside the United Nations. It is also the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations. By vote of the General Assembly, it is also International Cooperation Year. To celebrate such a year when strains on international cooperation have reached a high pitch and when troubles abound in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and the Atlantic Community seems a surrender to the unreal and the sentimental. But for our country, at least, it is not an act of sentiment. Thanks to the vigorous leadership of the White House and the Department of State, a most comprehensive effort is under way to give the year substance and meaning. Thirty governmental committees, paralleled by thirty citizens' committees, have been set up to deal with various aspects of the international spectrum. It is already clear that their reports at the White House conference scheduled for November 29 will include significant proposals in support of useful patterns of international cooperation.

These positive steps represent precisely the type of response in which governments and peoples should engage when the clouds of dissension and war hover over us. To surrender to crises, to be paralyzed by frustrations, or to resort to impetuosity as a quick way of cutting through tough problems is not true realism. Mankind cannot, indeed must not, grow weary, nor can its leaders falter, in the ever-present necessity of finding the paths of peace.

In Dag Hammarskjöld's last United Nations Day statement, on October 24, 1960, which now bears the mark of a last testament to mankind, he said, "No matter how deep the shadows may be, how sharp the conflicts, how tense the mistrust reflected in what is said and done in our world of today . . . , we are not permitted to forget that we have too much in common, too great a sharing of interests, and too much that we might lose together for ourselves and for succeeding generations ever to weaken in our efforts to surmount the difficulties and not to turn the simple human values, which are our common heritage, into the firm foundation on which we may unite our strength and live together in peace."

During the last year, the organization has been confronted with a crisis, perhaps without parallel in its life. An entire session of the Assembly was severely limited in its operation, while debate regarding the payment of arrears for peacekeeping operations and the constitutional character of such operations reached a stalemate. Before the Assembly adjourned, it resorted to the time-honored practice of appointing a committee —the Committee of 33—which is to examine the question of the financing of peacekeeping operations and report to a reconvened session of the General Assembly on September 1.

In a curious kind of a way, the report, which was approved unanimously by consensus at the end of its first round of meetings on June 15, represented the first positive break in the impasse. On the positive side, it stated that the next regular session of the General Assembly should proceed with its work normally. The mandate to function in this fashion again should have a tonic effect on the work of the session.

But the report was equally important for what it did not say. There was no mention of Article 19 of the charter, which would deny the right of voting in the Assembly to members who were more than two years in arrears in the payment of their assessments. The United States delegate had declared early in the committee meetings that consideration of Article 19 rightly belonged to the Assembly and not to the committee. However, the debates in the committee have made it clear that

Easing delicate situations at the U.N.

—*Leo Rosenthal (Pix).*

Secretary General Trygve Lie (right) with U.S. Secretary of State Edward Stettinius, in 1946.

—*Leo Rosenthal (Pix).*

Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld with USSR's Ambassador Valerian Zorin and advisor Konstantin G. Fedoseev, in 1961.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Soviet position of insisting that action be taken to set aside Article 19 now *and for the future* has no substantial support and that any disposition in any American quarter or elsewhere to apply Article 19 is likewise without major backing. Each of the two great powers thus has a right to assume that the other has made a concession.

Thus the way was at last partially cleared, it was hoped, to solicit contributions covering a substantial part of the indebtedness of the organization. The Soviet government should, it appears, find it more palatable to make "a substantial contribution." A number of European and Commonwealth countries have already indicated the level of their generous contributions to such a purse.

SEVERAL major and highly delicate questions remain: first, the constitutional and functional relationships between the General Assembly and the Security Council on peacekeeping operations; and second, the methods of financing such operations. There would seem to be no objection to an agreement that threats to the peace should be brought, in the first instance, to the attention of the Security Council. Such an understanding would, in fact, be in accordance with past practices. In all of the major crises—Korea, Suez, the Congo, Lebanon, Cyprus—the Security Council has first given consideration to the issue. If, however, it were to be concluded that the Security Council should have "exclusive" rather than "primary" responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security as indicated in the Charter, subject to the veto in the Council, the United Nations might easily find itself prevented from taking action on a threat to the peace. It is essential that the General Assembly and the Security Council each be guaranteed its rightful place in peacekeeping operations and that the residual powers of the General Assembly may be used in the event the Security Council is incapable of action. Some refinement in the relationship of the two bodies could be worked out through perhaps a perfecting of the mechanics of reporting by the Assembly to the Council and by the Council to the Assembly.

It seems clear that, for the foreseeable future, peacekeeping operations must be supported by voluntary contributions outside the regular scale of assessments. That being the case, it would be an act of wisdom to examine the prospect of establishing a large and representative subcommission of the Security Council to work out the arrangements for financing and to obtain the widest possible compliance in voluntary commitments. If action on a threat to the peace were frustrated by the use of the veto in the Council, the General Assembly might facilitate its own task of obtaining contributions by using a group of roughly the same membership.

This system of dependence on voluntary contributions obviously has great defects and may result in a situation in which a minority of the membership would carry all of the burden of peacekeeping. Yet there is no cause more worthy of support. Perhaps in God's own time a majority—if not all of the membership—would come to see the great advantages to be derived. In any case, as Americans, we should regard our role in such support as a privilege. The amount of our commitment is and would remain very small in relation to the vast sums constantly being spent in support of other forms of possible international action.

In past years, assertions have been made that we are saddled with a "preatomic" Charter, an outmoded Charter, a Charter containing anachronisms that do not correspond with the realities of our age. In theory, a much stronger Charter could be devised. In practice, it could be safely predicted that a Charter review conference would leave humanity with a weakened instrument. The chief problems confronting the world are political, not constitutional. The Charter did not cause the difficulties. It is on the whole, considering the present stage of the political evolution of the human race, a great and noble instrument. As Dag Hammarskjöld frequently put it: "Rich potentialities of the Charter have not yet been tapped." Before 1955, during the political deadlock over the admission of new members, there was much discussion about removing this matter from the rule of unanimity. The political problems relating to that issue were resolved in 1955 and there has been no serious difficulty in the admission of new members since that time.

No advantage would accrue to the organization in its capacity to preserve the peace by the deletion of Article 42 and related articles. These provisions should remain for the day—if it should ever come—that the great powers might act in unity. Furthermore, the practical arrangements for peacekeeping that have been resorted to in the past are thoroughly constitutional and often particularly effective.

—*Pix.*

Memorial to Dag Hammarskjöld, by Barbara Hepworth, in front of Secretariat Building.

The minor changes in the Charter now being considered by governments regarding the increase of the size of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council are a proper response to the enlarged membership of the organization but of little significance in other respects.

During my last several years at the United Nations, I opposed the appointment of still another committee to study the rules of procedure for the General Assembly, pointing out that with the political issues as they were, a thorough review of the rules would inevitably lead to generally weaker guideposts for the conduct of the Assembly's work. In 1962 such a committee was appointed, but it wisely decided not to tamper with the rules.

THE deep divisions of opinion with respect to peacekeeping operations and enforcement actions would preclude any clarification of the strengthening of the charter in these areas. If the political realities of our time require some adjustments in the methodology of peacekeeping operations it is better that they remain as understandings of the membership of the General Assembly and the Security Council rather than being formally frozen in formal revisions of the Charter. Such adjustments in procedure as would seem to be feasible and practical are in any case not contrary to the Charter. Another group of Charter revisionists might wish, in light of the large membership of the United Nations, to introduce some form of weighted voting in the General Assembly. It seems wholly unlikely that the majority of the Assembly would respond to such initiatives. The solution in this regard lays rather in a hoped-for increase in the sense of responsibility on the part of individual members for support of the United Nations in its major fields of peacekeeping and economic progress.

It is often said (I think erroneously) that small nations need the United Nations more than the Great Powers do. Small nations do need the United Nations, but the Great Powers need it, too. Unilateral action, which was once pursued by a Great Power with negligible negative reaction in world public opinion, now frequently precipitates a mountain of protest having within it the breeding ground for numerous new po-

(*Continued on page 57*)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Buttressing the Foundations

By PAUL G. HOFFMAN

IN EVALUATING the United Nations today we should never forget one simple and salient fact. The U.N. is, above all, a *practical* organ, created and supported by sovereign states to serve specific and vitally important interests that all nations have in common. Because it has served those interests faithfully and well it has survived. To the extent that it goes on serving them, it will save and strengthen itself.

The two main functions that the United Nations performs are helping to *keep* peace through political and constabulary action, and helping to *strengthen* peace through actions in the social and economic field that alleviate major causes of tensions within and between nations.

The U.N.'s peacekeeping work is generally well known, and its record in this field can fairly be called impressive. In Kashmir, the Gaza Strip, Cyprus, and the Congo, the "soldiers without enemies" who wear the blue beret have acquitted themselves with honor and effectiveness—not to mention considerable economy. During 1964, for example, the total cost of the U.N.'s Congo, Gaza, and Cyprus operations was only about $5,000,000 a month—roughly the amount that United States taxpayers were assessed for each thirty minutes of military operations during World War II. Furthermore, there are many, many instances in which the United Nations has functioned as a kind of international silent service—keeping the peace through quiet diplomacy greatly aided by the presence of skilled negotiators from the smaller countries.

But even those generally well informed about United Nations affairs are often surprised to learn how small a fraction of the U.N.'s workload these peacekeeping activities represent. For while some 1,100 of the men and women on the regular staff of the United Nations and its family of related agencies grapple with the intricacies of international politics, more than 22,000 others concentrate full-time on efforts to strengthen world security by helping the less developed countries wage a historically unprecedented war on want. Many thousands more are serving the same cause on contract assignments.

The United Nations has become so deeply involved in global programs to foster social and economic welfare because of a deep concern about global poverty's erosive effects on peace. In 130 low-income countries and territories associated with the U.N., some 30,000 children are dying every day of hunger and preventable disease. Over 800,000,000 people of school age are completely illiterate. Average annual per capita income is quite likely to total somewhat less than the weekly earnings of an American factory worker—which, in part at least, explains why average life expectancy hovers around the forty-year mark. One could cite many more such appalling statistics, for the mathematics of misery in the low-income lands has an almost infinite range, and it governs life from cradle to grave for fully two-thirds of the world's population.

This age-old tragedy has now acquired a new and exceedingly dangerous dimension through the totally unprecedented changes wrought by technology. For one thing, our era is the first that, by revolutionary advances in transport and communication, has eliminated the buffering effects of geographical distance. Thus, whether we would or no, we have become "one neighborhood," and the poor, who have always been with us, are now, for all practical purposes, living right next door. Through radio, which is almost universal today, through motion pictures and other mass media, through airline services now expanded into the most remote areas, they have come to know how much better is the life enjoyed by the large majority of people in more developed lands. They have made up their minds to build this better life for themselves. And while they are determined in their hearts to make all necessary sacrifices, they will brook no needless delays.

These developments have brought the world to one of those truly rare crossroads in history—a point where our choice of alternative paths may decisively affect the future. For if the hundreds of millions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America who are convinced that this generation must be the last of the desperately deprived receive the modest help they need to realize that legitimate aspiration, then the world will have taken a giant step toward stability and peace. If, on the other hand, through the indifference, complacency, or vain rivalries of their more fortunate neighbors these peoples are denied the help they need, their suffering and frustration will inevitably explode in a crescendo of violent crises with all the dread potentials of our nuclear age.

—UNICEF.

UNICEF in Iran—An infant is tested for malaria.

The United Nations, it should be noted, foresaw this historical turning point and recognized its crucial nature long before the signposts were as clear as they are today. Thus, not only has our world organization already been able to give the developing countries significant help in speeding their social and economic progress; it has also accumulated a vast amount of experience in the complex and hitherto largely unmapped field of international technical cooperation. In the long run, this may turn out to be a decisive factor both in assuring the U.N.'s own future and in the successful conduct of the global war on want.

IT is this facet of the U.N.'s work that I should like to touch on as illuminating a major source of our world organization's vitality.

For over fifteen years the United Nations and its family of related agencies have been engaged in a growing variety of activities designed to hasten the pace of development. This effort has gradually evolved into a comprehensive, coordinated program of assistance to low-income countries covering industry, agriculture, education, technical and managerial training, communications, transport, health, social welfare, national planning, international trade, and a host of related fields. The U.N. has also been long involved in the financing of devel-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opment through the work of the World Bank, the International Development Association, and the International Finance Corporation in providing investment capital; and through the currency stabilization activities of the International Monetary Fund.

The acronyms of two United Nations agencies—UNESCO and UNICEF—have quite literally become houseworld words in scores of lands and languages because of pioneering activities that continue to affect the lives and welfare of people by the hundreds of millions. UNESCO, which has its major mandate in the educational and scientific fields, has established regional programs in Latin America, Asia, and Africa to help its member nations train teachers, build schools, improve textbooks, and map over-all plans for developing the "literate citizenry" essential to progress. UNICEF, for its part, is now providing more than $33,000,000 a year to support some 500 projects of maternal and child-health care, disease control, family welfare, education, vocational guidance, and emergency aid. The fact that countries receiving UNICEF assistance "match" its project allocations about two and a half times over, out of their own scarce resources, indicates that they regard its work as vital both in preserving children's lives and in preparing young people to make their contribution to national growth.

This principle of financial matching is only one aspect of a partnership philosophy that finds its fullest expression in the United Nations Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA) and the Special Fund. EPTA, which this year celebrates its fifteenth anniversary, has utilized a total of nearly $500,000,000, contributed by 108 governments, to help low-income countries improve and diversify their economies, build up their administrative, technical, and training services, and form cadres of men and women professionally equipped to carry out national development schemes. EPTA assistance has taken two major forms: expert services (32,000 man-years of technical advice and instruction provided by more than 13,000 men and women of ninety different nationalities) and fellowship awards (more than 31,000 granted in 126 different host countries). In the words of David Owen, executive chairman of EPTA's coordinating body: "The real worth of the program, in terms of results achieved, has yet to be measured. But the demand for services from it has, almost from the beginning, far outstripped the supply."

The achievements of EPTA have been highly significant in themselves. But its work has also served a vital pathbreaking function for the newer United Nations Special Fund. Established in 1959 and now the U.N.'s largest single program of technical cooperation, the Special Fund has three basic responsibilities —to help the developing countries make their natural resources more available for productive use, to help them increase the economic value of those resources, and to help them put those resources to work to improve the living standards of their people. That this specific kind of assistance is highly urgent is indicated by the results of an informal canvass that I recently conducted among a cross-section of the membership of the Society for International Development. These experienced and knowledgeable professionals gave it as their joint opinion that, in developing countries where they had personally worked, physical resource utilization averaged only 20 per cent of the potential, and human resource utilization no more than 10 per cent.

THE Special Fund has thus far provided support for a net total of 522 major "pre-investment" projects, on forty-eight of which field work is now completed. The over-all objective of these projects—which are carried out on behalf of the Fund by the United Nations and nine of its related agencies—is to help 130 developing countries and territories attract capital. The total cost of the program is now over $1.15 billion, 42 per cent of which is met by Special Fund grants from the voluntary contributions of 112 governments. The remaining 58 per cent—and this deserves special note —is provided by the recipient countries themselves as local counterpart.

Of these projects, 223 are surveys and feasibility studies on major natural resources and their economic potential, 195 are centers for advanced education and technical and vocational training, while 104 are research institutes for applying science and technology to development needs. Eighteen of the surveys, costing some $22,000,000, have already been followed by almost $1 billion in development investments – confirming our belief that development progress has often lagged not so much for lack of investment funds but for lack of knowledge about where and how such funds could be productively employed. In addition, nearly 70,000 men and women have, to date, been trained in advanced skills vitally needed by their countries. Permanent institutions – private and governmental—have been established in scores of nations to help plan, administer, and stimulate development activities, thus further assuring that progress will become self-perpetuating.

But such bare statistics cannot begin to give a valid picture of the program's scope and depth, or of its potential impact on the lives of the 1.6 billion people living in countries whose governments the Fund directly serves. For the eventual result of United Nations technical assistance activities, such as the Special Fund—combined with the efforts and sacrifices of the recipient countries—can be a decisive increase in the productivity of farms and factories, forests and fisheries, mines and mills, and business enterprises. This, in turn, will mean that many, many people will live far better and longer, enjoying more nourishing food, more adequate clothing and shelter, more manufactured products, improved public services, and increased employment with significantly higher income.

One specific example of U.N.-sponsored international development cooperation demands specific mention, however brief. In Southeast Asia's Lower Mekong Basin, the United Nations family is supporting a complex of related develop-

(Continued on page 56)

—*UNICEF.*

UNICEF in Mexico—Student nurses at a training school.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Legacy of Dag Hammarskjöld

By LESLIE PAFFRATH

THE tragic dispatch that the United Nations plane carrying Dag Hammarskjöld and his associates had crashed in Central Africa pierced the world with a deep sense of grief. Such faith was invested in this skillful servant that the concept of "The United Nations Presence" had become largely the presence of Dag Hammarskjöld. Suddenly, the "presence" was gone. A wide front of humanity, angered and anguished by the untimely visit of unjust death, was still not aware of a journal entry by which Dag Hammarskjöld had reached a quiet settlement with himself: "He who is challenged by Fate does not take umbrage at the terms."

In the African wilderness, extracting order from political turmoil, this strong and patient man confronted fate's challenge, and met the terms of his own statement of United Nations policy—that it ". . . must respond to those demands which must be made of it . . . and should have confidence in its strength and capacity to respond." Dag Hammarskjöld's life was a gift. Our acknowledgment of it is acceptance of his belief that men, using institutions of their making, must define and enforce respect for human values. This is the magnetic needle by which the course of human endeavor must be charted. It does not seem consistent, or therefore probable, that peace was an end in itself for Dag Hammarskjöld. It was a condition under which fear and violence would be reduced, and mankind brought to a wider, more sensitive respect for human values. Free of the weight and distraction of armed conflict, men would fix attention on what might be *shared*. Latent powers would be vitalized, through new hope and free access to knowledge. With other men of vision, Dag Hammarskjöld yearned for the state of trust which would bring about a sharing of man's creations of nobility and beauty, whatever their places of origin. He hoped that as man withdrew from the conflict of war he would open the universal trade route to his fulfillment.

As a man who knew the workaday procedures of diplomacy, Dag Hammarskjöld appreciated that the nations could not merely await the advent of peace. He knew that the causes of conflict, complex and elusive, had to be probed by keen intellect, to be made the object of tireless work. Decades before we faced the necessity of living with nuclear power, Rabindranath Tagore set man fully erect:

> The supreme position of man among all living beings is due to the fact that, far from conceding that events should happen without his agency or assent, he has from the beginning of history striven to control them by discovering their causes and mastering their laws.

With that rare form of courage which is marked with perseverance, Dag Hammarskjöld acted out the conviction that thoughtful men can take charge of their future. He was a disciple of the nuclear imperative: either men relate to one another in new ways or face the possibility of losing all relationship. The open question is whether we can, by will and ingenuity, construct new devices to settle international disputes before they accelerate to war. These new means must be agreed on, and readied for use. If they are not ready, nations, seized with passion, will fall back on primitive, destructive means. In Kant's essay, "Perpetual Peace," he relates the response of one ruler who, being taunted by another to engage in combat rather than negotiate, replied: "Will a blacksmith who possesses a pair of pincers, take the hot iron from the fire with his hands?"

Dag Hammarskjöld worked with the stress of conflict. He appreciated that complex issues are rarely solved with finality. He observed first-hand the bereft state of much of mankind; he knew the tragically large number who were unsheltered, hungry, diseased, and unloved. Exposure to these conditions might have inured his spirit. On the contrary, a lesson of his life was his manifest belief in the future—what Pierre Teilhard de Chardin projects as ". . . the growth of the world borne ever onward in the stream of universal becoming." Although Hammarskjöld was not to be a living spectator of assured peace, he believed in the promise of its reality. He never wore the suit of traditional optimism, but his whole bearing conveyed a message of untiring assent to life. He met the conditions of the hour with a conviction that the contours of human destiny could he shaped by man. In the epoch of nuclear power, which the winds of conflict might turn against mankind, he would not tolerate the thought of a human failure which might snuff out life. His confidence in human superiority was too great to admit that this might be the end course for man. In his journal he wrote of this in symbolic terms:

> When the morning's freshness has been replaced by the weariness of midday, when the leg muscles quiver under the strain, the climb seems endless, and suddenly nothing will go quite as you wish—it is then that you must not hesitate.

The alloy of faith and work which Dag Hammarskjöld provided can be a saving defense when the United Nations is again under stress—if we will remember it. His death during the Congo crisis gave rise to dire forebodings that the United Nations was finished. These gray voices will be heard again. We must then recall the doctrine that man's institutions require renewal through human commitment. As Secretary General of an international body which more than once had sent a peace force into war situations, Dag Hammarskjöld was sensible to the cruel paradox that life-saving endeavors require that lives be spent. "The hardest thing of all—to die rightly," he wrote in his journal. His life was among those to be expended, although he himself would have looked on it not as a cost, but a fulfillment.

DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD had remarkable discipline in the principles which he adopted as a guide for his actions. By critical examination and self negotiation he had reached an accord with himself. It was not a fixed compact, but subject to never-ending review and renewal. From his steady search for truth and growth, with its inevitable inner turbulence, came a strength in external relations. He wrote, ". . . only an uncompromising 'honesty' can reach the bedrock of decency which you should always expect to find, even under deep layers of evil." It was recognition by the nations of his commitment to the "moral law within" which opened the door of negotiation to Dag Hammarskjöld. One might ask if the 'self' was not overstressed in his search for meaning. The answer lies, if one accepts it, in the an-

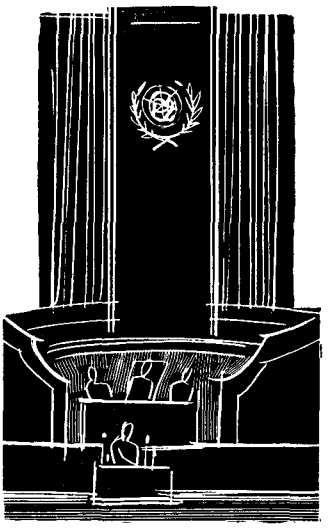
(*Continued on page* 49)

—*Photo by Karsh, Ottawa.*

Dag Hammarskjöld

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What We Didn't Know in 1945



By CARLOS P. ROMULO

THE REALITY of the United Nations today is this: The General Assembly is paralyzed over peace-keeping finances. Progress toward arms control and disarmament seems invisible. The nuclear weapons club grows apace (some experts say there could be another ten members in the next ten years). Despite the real and dramatic contributions of the many specialized U.N. services, the U.N.'s assault on poverty, hunger, and disease is having trouble bridging the moat that separates the "have" from the "have-not" nations. Sadly, the moat grows wider every day. But above all, the U.N. appears to be impotent when major powers quarrel. The formal veto stifles the Security Council. The silent veto—the refusal to pay dues, the failure to comply—undermines the entire organization.

What, then, is left to the U.N.?

The right to suggest, to recommend, to persuade. The right to deliberate.

The U.N. has fallen short of the goals we set so hopefully in the Preamble to the Charter: ". . . reaffirm faith in the fundamental human rights . . . , to promote social progress . . . , to unite our strength and maintain international peace and security . . . , to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."

I remember those hopeful days at San Francisco in 1945. The end of World War II was near. Hitler and Mussolini had been toppled. A devastated Europe had barely begun to restore itself. Even before the bombs stopped falling, we took up the search for peace.

It was three and a half years after Pearl Harbor. The tide of war in the South Pacific had been turned back by the bulwark of the undying spirit of free men.

We midwives who went to San Francisco to help in the U.N.'s birth were sent by a tired and weary world, yet the thought of peace—real, lasting peace—gave us new strength. Millions were dead; other millions were maimed and wounded; our fields were torn by alien plows. But our hands were eager to ring down the curtain on man's greatest tragedy. We saw in the U.N. that we were fashioning the final act of the drama.

I had left the battlefront but a few weeks before. As a member of General MacArthur's staff, I had participated in the campaign to free my country. I knew war. I hated it. I wanted no more of it.

To all of us, the drafting and signing of the United Nations Charter was the culmination of our struggle. It was the hope and determination of all the nations of the world that World War II should be World War Last. In letters of blood we wrote our hope that weapons of war would never again be turned by man against man. Mankind, after thousands of years, would be guaranteed those fundamental human rights: justice, social progress, and a better life.

Maybe the U.N. we created wasn't the best organization that mankind could create. Trygve Lie expressed it: We built "as strong an organization as all of them could agree upon, and as, in their judgment, could in practice be effective at this stage in the history of the world."

His words were prophetic.

Today history's stage is different. The drama is changed. There are scenes in it that we never wrote. No one had heard of Hiroshima. An atomic editor revised our script. Our golden words were transmuted into leaden skies of fear and destruction. We who met in San Francisco had not yet seen the mushrooms over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. We could not imagine the poisonous toadstools of hydrogen bombs. We could not know then that our Charter would not withstand those poisons. How could we know that the ink we had used, like the bodies of the men who had made our writing possible, would wither in the awful radiation? In mankind's desperation to end *one* war, we had begun the destruction of that Charter which we thought would end *all* wars. And now, unless we truly end war, war will end us.

There were many things we didn't know then: We thought the five Great Powers would keep the peace. We entrusted it to them, by making them permanent members of the Security Council, with the right of veto.

We thought our unity would last. That, too, proved false. Now we have duality—two mighty nations around which a divided world is polarized.

And now, new centers of power are emerging.

No longer is there such a thing as a "Great Power." Any nation, large or small, if it spends enough money and hires enough scientists to make the bomb, is a Great Power.

And with great power goes great danger. One man's mistake, one man's wrong judgment, one moment of madness can plunge us all into the final war.

Nor did that pre-atomic Charter anticipate the collapse of Western colonialism. Little did we think there would be sixty new, independent nations in so short a time. Who could have dreamt that we would have 114 members now, when only 51 signed the Charter twenty years ago? We did not foresee that in 1965 the world would be clamoring for more freedom, more education, more of the better life. Nor could we picture the despair and disillusionment the failure of many of the world's nations to achieve even a minimum of these goals would bring. Nor did we think that the little progress we would make would only add to our woes—our exploding populations. Even too little must be divided among too many.

The outlook for peace and freedom is grim. Desperate people turn to "isms"—Communism or any other "ism" that seems to promise a better life.

Our fine, hopeful Charter of 1945 seems inadequate in hard, ugly 1965.

TIME is ruthless with living beings who cannot or will not adapt to change. It is equally cruel with institutions that freeze in the mold of the past. The dinosaur and the dodo bird are extinct. The bow and arrow are a toy, the spear is a museum piece. Colonialism gives way to independence and self-determination. The outmoded Charter of the U.N. must be replaced by a timelier constitution for mankind.

Is not the lesson of history crystal-clear? Unless we change it, will not the United Nations follow the League of Nations into extinction? We must give the U.N. modern power to deal with a modern world.

If we do not, oblivion will come. Gradually, by erosion, or suddenly, in the heat of crisis. Each major decision made outside the U.N. by U.N. members could make the U.N. more puny and insignificant. We dare not let it go any

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

further, for even now it drowns in the residue of mankind's quarrels.

I had the privilege of meeting recently with a group of fourteen distinguished colleagues from all over the world. This group was brought together in a "Conference on the United Nations of 1975," and it suggested several necessary changes in the U.N. to provide these requirements for peace:

1. Complete and enforced disarmament of all nations, in carefully controlled stages. When the disarmament process is complete, each nation would retain only strictly limited and lightly armed police forces for internal order. Significant progress in disarmament will not be possible without parallel progress toward the provision of international security through the United Nations.

2. A permanent U.N. peace force to maintain international peace and security; and an effective U.N. inspection system to supervise disarmament.

3. A General Assembly empowered to adopt binding rules and regulations in respect of the peacekeeping functions of the strengthened U.N. and implementing the disarmament plan; and, in the opinion of most but not all of the conferees, a revised voting system appropriate to the strengthened U.N., including abolition of the present "veto power" in the Security Council.

4. A strengthened International Court of Justice empowered to interpret the U.N. Charter and decide all international legal disputes; a system of regional courts and other tribunals and agencies to settle international disputes that cannot be decided on legal principles. Membership in the U.N. should carry with it the acceptance of the jurisdiction of the International Court in all international disputes.

5. A world development program. As a matter of human survival, the world must use a substantially larger share of its resources to promote the economic and social advancement of the less developed nations. Expansion and better coordination of existing development programs are urgently needed. A major part of the savings from disarmament should be used for a large-scale development program administered by the U.N.

6. A reliable and adequate revenue system for the strengthened U.N.

7. Safeguards to prevent abuse of power by the strengthened U.N., and a clear reservation to the member states and their peoples of all powers not

(*Continued on page* 56)

Alternative to Anarchy

By CLARK M. EICHELBERGER

THE UNITED NATIONS can be saved. It must be saved. Let those who treat it lightly contemplate the consequences of its failure. The Charter imposes a moral and legal unity upon mankind. Were this to be swept aside, in the resulting anarchy nations would be forced to make whatever military alliances were possible. The arms race would increase, with the final absurdity of armed spaceships roaming the heavens. Sporadic wars would multiply, bringing the danger of final nuclear catastrophe.

The statesmen met at San Francisco in 1945 to write the Charter. President Franklin D. Roosevelt invited them to meet before the war ended in order to avoid the danger of postwar reaction. The Charter's commitments against war and its mandate upon the nations to build a dynamic international society that would advance human rights, fundamental freedoms, and economic and social justice could not be better stated today. The statesmen wrote a Charter sufficiently flexible to enable the organization to adjust itself to unanticipated postwar problems. The revolt of the colonial peoples, the threat of nuclear warfare, the exploration of outer space, and the worldwide demand for economic equality are the most overwhelming the United Nations has faced.

Nevertheless, twenty years after the drafting of the Charter, a deep pessimism prevails. It is caused primarily by the fact that the nations, treating the United Nations as a matter of diplomatic choice, are turning away from it to seek settlement of their disputes by their own devices. They are not bringing to the world organization, as they are obligated to do, situations whose continuance is a threat to the peace of the world.

Secretary-General U Thant said recently, "We are witnessing today, I feel, a definite reversal of the slow progress the United Nations has made toward world stability and world peace. A further drift in this direction, if not arrested in time, will mark the close of a chapter of great expectations and the heralding of a new chapter in which the world organization will provide merely a debating forum, and nothing else."

Many constructive proposals are being put forward to arrest the drift. They were the substance of some of the addresses at the U.N.'s commemorative sessions in San Francisco. A General Assembly committee continues to wrestle with the problem of financing peacekeeping operations and the relationship of the Security Council and the General Assembly in initiating or directing such activities. Other plans would deal more vigorously with the growing disparity between the more privileged nations of the North and the less privileged nations of the South. Some proposals look toward giving the United Nations a degree of sovereignty in those areas in which nations have not extended their sovereign claims, such as the bed of the sea. The most drastic suggestions look to a revision of the Charter itself in order to give the United Nations clear authority to extend the rule of law and the machinery for its enforcement.

However, transcending any of these proposals is the necessity for a fundamental change in the attitude toward the U.N. of most of the members, including the United States.

In his report to the Sixteenth General Assembly, prepared shortly before his death, Dag Hammarskjöld spoke of two groups of member nations. One group, he said, regards the United Nations "as a static conference machinery for resolving conflicts of interests and ideologies with a view to peaceful coexistence, within the Charter, to be served by a Secretariat which is to be regarded not as fully internationalized but as representing within its ranks those very interests and ideologies."

Other members, he went on, "conceive of the organization primarily as

(*Continued on page* 54)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Saturday Review

Editor: NORMAN COUSINS
Publisher: J. R. COMINSKY
Associate Editors: HARRISON SMITH, IRVING KOLODIN, HORACE SUTTON

Associate Publisher W. D. PATTERSON
Managing Editor RICHARD L. TOBIN
Science Editor JOHN LEAR
Poetry Editor JOHN CIARDI
Education Editor PAUL WOODRING
Production Manager PEARL S. SULLIVAN
Book Review Editor ROCHELLE GIRSON
General Editor HALLOWELL BOWSER
Feature Editor JAMES F. FIXX

Editors-at-Large
CLEVELAND AMORY
HARRISON BROWN
JOHN MASON BROWN
FRANK G. JENNINGS
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH
T. S. MATTHEWS
WALTER MILLIS
ELMO ROPER
JOHN STEINBECK

Contributing Editors
HOLLIS ALPERT
ALICE DALGLIESH
HENRY HEWES
GRANVILLE HICKS
ARTHUR KNIGHT
KATHARINE KUH
MARTIN LEVIN
ROBERT LEWIS SHAYON
MARGARET R. WEISS
JOHN T. WINTERICH

Context for Peace

ON JUNE 24, two former Presidents of the United Nations General Assembly sent a possibly historic letter and report to the permanent delegates of the U.N. The two signers were General Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines, President of the General Assembly in 1949, and Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan of Pakistan, who presided in 1962 and 1963. Their letter reported the results of a private conference completed in San Francisco just as the special U.N. twentieth anniversary ceremonies were getting under way.

In addition to General Romulo and Sir Zafrulla, twelve men—all of them distinguished political scientists, philosophers, or public servants—participated in the private conference, arranged by the Stanley Foundation, of Muscatine, Iowa. They included Dr. Hideki Yukawa of Japan, Nobel Prize winner; Dr. Luis Quintanilla of Mexico, former chairman of the OAS Council; Robert Buron, chairman of the French National Committee on Productivity; Dr. Hermond Lannung, member of the Danish delegation to the U.N.; Gordon Fairweather, member of the Canadian Parliament; Zenon Rossides, Cypriot Ambassador to the United States; Dr. Ahmad Houman, assistant to the Prime Minister of Iran; Ambassador S. Edward Peal, member of the Liberian delegation to the United Nations; M. van der Stoel, member of the Netherlands Parliament; Chief S. O. Adebo, Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations; Grenville Clark, American lawyer and co-author of *World Peace Through World Law*; and C. Maxwell Stanley, American industrialist and head of the Stanley Foundation.

The purpose of the conference was to apply highly specialized human intelligence to what may well be the most important question in the world—how to make the United Nations work; which is to say, how to rescue the U.N. from the limitations and weaknesses inherent in a pre-Atomic Charter and the difficulties thrust upon it by nations that go their own way—whether by withholding financial support or by bypassing the U.N. in matters directly concerned with peacekeeping. In particular, the conference considered changes needed by the U.N. if it is to survive and world peace is to be maintained.

In writing to the United Nations delegates about their meeting, General Romulo and Sir Zafrulla commented:

"Twenty years ago the representatives of fifty-one nations met here in San Francisco to breathe life into man's great hope for lasting peace. A tired and shattered world watched as the Charter of the United Nations was written. The world accepted it as a threshold from fear and war to hope and peace.

"Today, you commemorate the founding of the United Nations even as you confront the many problems which face it. We share your concern and wish you success.

"Recently, we had the privilege of conferring with other friends of the United Nations . . . We explored the future of the United Nations over the next decade. We considered the minimal needs of the U.N. if it is to survive and succeed as man's great hope.

"We respectfully submit, for your thoughtful consideration, the statement produced at this conference. We hope you will find it helpful."

The conference statement carried the unanimous recommendation for a strengthened United Nations possessing these essentials of a peaceful world:

1. Complete and enforced disarmament of all nations through carefully controlled stages. Each nation would retain only such armed forces as are essential to maintain internal order.

2. A permanent U.N. police force in order to maintain world peace and security, one aspect of which would be an effective U.N. inspection system to supervise disarmament.

3. A General Assembly empowered with binding regulations in the area of the U.N.'s peacekeeping and disarmament functions; a revised Security Council responsible to the General Assembly; and (in the opinion of most though not all the conferees) a revised voting system in the General Assembly appropriate to the strengthened U.N., including abolition of the veto in the Security Council.

4. A strengthened International Court of Justice empowered to interpret the U.N. Charter and decide all international legal disputes; a system of regional courts; and such other tribunals as are necessary to settle international disputes which do not lend themselves to decision through legal principles.

5. A world development program. A major part of savings brought about through enforceable disarmament would be made available for fostering the economic and social advancement of nations in need of it.

6. The establishment of a reliable and adequate revenue system for the strengthened U.N.

7. Safeguards to prevent additional authority vested in the U.N. from being

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

abused or misused. All powers not specifically assigned to the U.N. to be reserved for the nations.

8. Authority of the U.N. to extend to all nations, under universal membership.

The experts recognized that a charter review conference of the United Nations would be necessary to bring about the suggested changes. They pointed to Article 109 of the Charter as the enabling mechanism.

The challenge to update the United Nations, it was stressed, cannot be confined to governments. "Every citizen and every nation should press for a Charter Review Conference until the demand becomes irresistible. The small nations now have the opportunity to lead the way. National governments, private organizations, and individuals should immediately begin intensive study of the U.N. charter revision and formulation of proposed changes."

The conferees were not oblivious of the drastic nature of their proposals or the complexities involved in carrying them out. They emphasized they were not asking for Utopia. "We confine our recommendations to the *minimum* essentials for peace. Nothing less than enforceable world law can succeed. The strengthened United Nations we advocate will not change the nature of man nor solve all the world's problems, but it will keep the human race from committing suicide. The difficulties of building enforceable world law are great, but the hazards of a world without enforceable law are greater. We have heard all the reasons why it cannot be done, but we know it must be done. We speak for an idea whose time has come."

A SIGNIFICANT aspect of the report is that many of the men who signed it had a long record of serving the U.N., officially or unofficially. The inevitable and basic question that proceeds out of this fact is, why should it be necessary for such ideas to be developed outside the formal councils of the United Nations? The answer is the basic one—context. The context of the United Nations is one of absolute national sovereignty. The U.N. is therefore an instrument for carrying out a consensus rather than for defining and enforcing strict principles on which a workable peace necessarily rests. The U.N. has made inroads into the anarchy of the whole but it has not dispatched the anarchy. It can focus world public opinion on certain situations and can thereby generate useful pressure, but it cannot enforce obligations essential to the public safety.

Context, quite literally, makes all the difference in the world. It is the difference between a man in the General Assembly thinking and acting as an individual, applying his own intelligence and common sense to problems on their merits, and a man officially conveying the position of a government conditioned by a world of national interests, alliances, and special dealings. Representing the latter, he has only the most limited outlet for independent judgment in situations involving determinations of justice. The Secretary-General, not representing any nation, can of course be objective, but his station is often one of lonely and sometimes tragic isolation, for he cannot act effectively without the cooperation of the nations which are not inclined to be objective in matters affecting their national sovereignty.

What the men of the Stanley Conference sought to do was to change context. They want to create a context in which objective law is the yardstick by which conflicts and tensions are resolved. They see a direct relationship between the architecture of world organization and the existence of a sane world society. They know that the desirable context is one in which problems coming before a world judicial agency can be considered against a background of codified law and precedent and not according to strategic pressure applied by one nation against another.

Whatever the occupations or preoccupations of the people who inhabit this earth, anything they say or do will make little sense in terms of their essential security and well-being until they identify world anarchy as their personal problem, pit themselves against it, and press for the establishment of world law. —N.C.

Martin Buber: In Memoriam

MARTIN BUBER died on June 14th in the city of Jerusalem at the age of eighty-seven. His death ended the life of one of the most creative spirits of our age. His thought and life influenced the most diverse cultural disciplines and religious traditions, both Jewish and Christian.

His *magnum opus*, *I and Thou*, was an exposition of social existentialism and influenced many continental psychiatrists. The thesis of the volume was superior to the existentialism from Kierkegaard to Sartre because of its emphasis of the social character of human selfhood. No one can fulfil the self without acknowledging other selves in their independent selfhoods. The study was influenced by both the Chassidic Jewish tradition of Buber's youth and by German Romantic thought.

His study of the prophets of Israel made the thought of the Hebraic prophets, including their demand for, and definition of radical justice, a lively influence among both Jewish and Christian youth. Incidentally it prompted his basic criticism of Christian idealism, as being too individualistic and sentimental.

His book *Two Types of Faith* was a polemic against Paul, whom he believed responsible, not without reason, for transmuting the concept of faith as basic trust into the concept of faith as belief. While Buber was never an anti-Christian polemicist, he did succeed in deflating many pretensions of Christians. In a famous address to an audience of Dutch clergymen, he gave this succinct account of the difference between Jewish and Christian attitudes toward the central conviction about Christ as the Messiah in Christian Faith. Buber said: "To the Christian, the Jew is a stubborn fellow, who in an unredeemed world, is still waiting for the Messiah. To the Jew, a Christian is a heedless fellow, who in an unredeemed world, affirms that salvation has, somehow or other, taken place."

While Buber's influence in the Christian community was great, it was certainly ironic that many Christian theologians appropriated his concern for interpersonal relations to validate Luther's concept of a "heavenly Kingdom" of purely sacrificial or self-giving love that prevailed among persons. The appropriation had limited validity; but it was in strange contrast to Buber's passion for prophetic justice.

Perhaps a limitation in Buber's thought was his inability to comprehend the moral mediocrities of collective loyalties of races and nations. He was a passionate, religious Zionist, who thought that a Jewish homeland could be established without creating enmity with the circumambient Arab world. His death in a state which had to fight for its life and must now continue to gain its security against the Arab desire to destroy it adds a certain pathos to the life of a truly great man, whose only error was to underestimate the ethnic core of all parochial communities, including the old and new nations. —REINHOLD NIEBUHR.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The MacLeish-Bundy Debate

BETWEEN MCGEORGE BUNDY'S allegations that idealists are too naïve, and Archibald MacLeish's faith in a United States that will somehow muddle through to decency [*SR*, July 3], I find myself not knowing whether to laugh or cry.

These two, it seems, represent the best of modern men. Bundy may be described as a skillful man of public affairs, whose preoccupation is action. MacLeish is known as a man of thought, whose objectives are enlightenment and wise perspective. Both speak to us of the great issues of our time. They urge upon us vital choices. Yet what do they say?

MacLeish describes the wanton faithlessness of modern life, only to deny its ultimate reality. Bundy discredits idealism, only to insist that high purposes have already been attained.

But the critical issue of responsibility is not, as we might suspect from the tone of these two essays, to kill or not to kill. The issue is how much killing is required.

It seems only too clear at this point that in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic we increasingly commit ourselves to excess in the use of power. In recent months we have taken the easy road to further violence in every crisis that has confronted us. . . .

Life may indeed be cruel. But cruelty inflicted without restraint produces orgy. It is this, more than the cunning of our adversaries, that threatens our stability in the world today.

MRS. PATRICIA AARONSON.
Trenton, N.J.

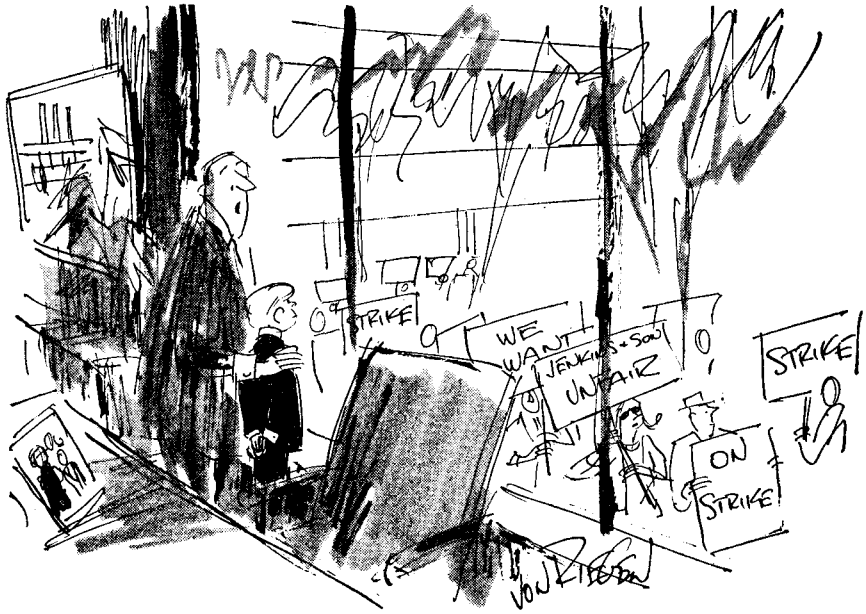
MR. MACLEISH'S ARTICLE reads like a naïve high school girl's essay. We never have been a nation of idealists, nor have we ever appeared so to the rest of the world. Every war we ever fought, except the Civil War, has been for money and power, not for ideals. Even our much-praised revolution was fought more for economic reasons than for human liberty. . . .

As for Mr. Bundy's reply, it is a lot of cant, except for the stress on power. We are a powerful nation and our leaders know it. Mr. Bundy's pious words about our dedication to peace must sound good to those who have felt and are feeling our military might, especially those Vietnamese who are being bombed daily. As for what other people are thinking about us, "Yankee go home!" has become so common that he need have no doubts about that.

Let's quit kidding ourselves. . . .

MRS. LYDIA MAYFIELD.
Halstead, Kan.

I AM PREPARED to concede that Archibald MacLeish is a formidable poet, but his article exposes him as a sadly deficient historian. The realism that he affects to regard as something new in U.S. affairs is no more than a faltering step toward a return to traditional American values after thirty years of soft-headed "good neighborliness." Why should any American be disturbed because the Russians and their stooges around the world object to U.S. airmen bombing insignificant targets in North Vietnam or to U.S. paratroopers whose indecisive intervention has delayed suppression of the Communists in Santo Domingo? The Americans in these current situations are legitimate descendants of the men who enforced respect for U.S. interests on such foes as the French, the Spanish, the Barbary pirates, the American Indians, and various Latin Americans in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries.



"Someday, son, they'll all be yours to negotiate with."

For the first time in years we have in Lyndon B. Johnson a U.S. President who is at least trying to restore world respect for the United States. Let us not sneer at the feebleness of his initial efforts.

MILTON H. ANDERSON.
New York, N.Y.

NOTWITHSTANDING MCGEORGE BUNDY'S foreign policy rationalizations, the age-old curse of self-appointed unilateralism bleeds through his entire reply to Archibald MacLeish.

EDWARD F. NASH.
Los Angeles, Calif.

MR. MACLEISH STATES that for 200 years Americans have thought themselves better than other men. Mr. Bundy argues that they are not. This seems to be a very sensible conclusion, and one long since accepted quite widely outside the United States.

L. F. S. UPTON.
West Vancouver, B.C.

I FOUND MCGEORGE BUNDY'S reply to Archibald MacLeish extremely disturbing, particularly in view of the influence he apparently has in shaping the foreign policy of the Johnson Administration. . . . Implicit in his position are two highly dangerous attitudes: that the important form of power is physical power, and that we are a fine and peace-loving people, while our adversaries can understand only the language of force.

It is indisputable that power involves corresponding responsibility, which is essentially a statement of a moral imperative. But it will be tragic for mankind if the most powerful nation in history, economically and militarily, continues to use that power destructively, under self-righteous adherence to the good guy-bad guy illusion. It is worth remembering that absolute power still corrupts absolutely.

MARJORIE WEBER.
Carmel, Calif.

On the Road

SOME COMMENTS ARE necessary to clarify Robert Lewis Shayon's timely criticism of the National Safety Council-sponsored CBS show *The National Drivers' Test* [*SR*, June 19].

First, "defensive driving" is not a new concept in motorist safety education. Emphasis on this skill has been the basis of the majority of driver education courses for at least ten years.

Secondly, "defensive driving" does not mean "watch out for the other fellow." The term means that a driver skilled in the defensive operation of a motor vehicle is equipped to protect his passengers, himself, and his vehicle from injury or damage by avoiding unsafe conditions.

Finally, the thriving new campaign for traffic safety by the National Safety Council is a series of lessons for volunteer participation by experienced drivers who desire to increase their safety on the streets and roads. . . .

EARL J. EADS,
Safety and Training Officer,
United States Post Office.
Lexington, Ky.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LITERARY HORIZONS

Spies Without a Sense of Mission

I HAVE never been more than mildly interested in spy stories. I did read with some excitement the first two or three James Bond books, but then Fleming's combination of sex, sadism, and pseudosophistication became boring.

For a long time I resisted *The Spy Who Came In From the Cold*, but at last its extraordinary popularity stirred my curiosity, and I gave it a try. I was, I must say, at no point tempted to stop reading it. It seemed to me as good a novel of suspense as I, in my limited experience, had ever encountered. John Le Carré, I felt, was a master of both construction and narrative, and a better than average writer—though he did speak of "that strata." Moreover, his spy was a human being, not a James Bond, and Le Carré was interested in why men become spies and what happens to them when they do.

Le Carré's *The Looking Glass War* (Coward-McCann, $4.95) is not likely to be as popular as its predecessor, if only because it does not have the same kind of narrative drive. The novel is broken into three parts, and it is only in the third part, as the spy prepares to enter East Germany, crosses the border, and begins his mission, that the story sweeps the reader along.

If, however, the novel is not so good a representative of its genre as *The Spy*, it is an interesting piece of fiction. *The Spy* did not glorify espionage; but *The Looking Glass War* is frankly critical, taking a dismal view of intelligence operations and operators in general. The first spy in the story, Taylor, is an inexperienced blunderer. The second, Avery, is a young man who does not know what he wants out of life. The third, Leiser, has the makings of a good spy, and was a good spy in World War II; but he is not equipped for the situation in which he finds himself. Behind the spies are the men who devise and plan their missions—Leclerc, Haldane, and Woodford.

The enterprise in which these men are engaged turns out badly, and the reader comes to feel that it was doomed from the beginning. Le Carré, whose real name is David Cornwell, has explained, in a letter to his publisher, why this is so: "The self-delusion which made England indestructible in the Forties is a peril in the Sixties. The companionship of dedicated men, formerly so moving, is now suspect; the team spirit, once enforced by an unspoken religious purpose, gave to each communicant a sense of mission and purity. It is now dispossessed. In this novel the past has become master."

The older men in the department, who had never felt so strong, so sure of themselves as when they were facing the perils, national and individual, of World War II, are still longing for the confidence and élan of that time. The incident with which the book deals gives them the delusion that they are living in the good old days, and they are rejuvenated. They do not stop to consider that the evidence on which their activity is based is shaky, nor do they ask themselves whether the sacrifice of human lives is justified. They and their department, as Le Carré points out, are anachronisms.

John Avery, who was too young to fight in World War II, has gone into intelligence work in the hope of finding companionship and a reason for living. Because he does not have the memories on which his elders feed, he asks himself questions that they would automatically suppress, but he lacks the courage of his doubts. As Le Carré puts it, he "reflects the moral search of the weak and unhappy recruit who banishes doubt with action. He is young; it is his youth and attraction which the others deploy to revive themselves and ensnare their victim."

The victim, Leiser, twenty years or so after the war, runs a profitable garage and has a successful career as what our ancestors called a womanizer. As a spy in the war, he, a Pole by birth, felt himself accepted by the English. That sense of acceptance he has never enjoyed since in spite of his good fortune, and it is in the hope of recapturing it that he returns to espionage. He is an anachronism, as Le Carré says, and his equipment is as anachronistic as he is. He hasn't a chance. Le Carré says that he sees Leiser as "little more than the poor, bloody infantry of the Cold War."

Both in the letter from which I have been quoting and in his novel, Le Carré speaks of "the second vow." The first vow, of course, is the oath a man takes when he joins one of the secret services. The second vow comes at "the moment of crisis and decision." It is made when a man "experiences self-knowledge but does not withdraw." "In Haldane, the most corrupt," Le Carré says, "this is hardly an issue. In Avery it is more of one; in Leiser it is acute." Talking about World War II, Leclerc says to Avery, "Often we had scruples like you. We had to overcome them. We used to call

18 *SR*'s Check List of the Week's New Books

39 Literary Horizons: Granville Hicks reviews "The Looking Glass War," by John Le Carré

40 On the Fringe, by Haskel Frankel

41 The Troubled Partnership: A Reappraisal of the Western Alliance, by Henry A. Kissinger

42 Unfinished Revolution: America and the Third World, by C. L. Sulzberger

43 Letters to the Book Review Editor

44 Stormy Petrel: The Life and Work of Maxim Gorky, by Dan Levin; The Memoirs of Ivanov-Razumnik

45 The Makepeace Experiment, by Abram Tertz

46 The Garden of the Finzi-Continis, by Giorgio Bassani

47 Books for Young People, by Alice Dalgliesh

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the second vow. . . . It is a great deal harder, I know, in peacetime. It requires courage. Courage of a different kind."

As I have tried to show by quotations from his letter, Le Carré had a serious purpose in mind when he wrote this novel. Let me quote once more: "I think the book touches new ground when it discusses the phenomenon of 'committed' men who are committed to nothing but one another and the dreams they collectively invoke." This is a phenomenon we might bear in mind when we are thinking about the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency and of the military establishment. It would be surprising if England were the only country that was menaced by anachronisms.

From that point of view, *The Looking Glass War* is, I feel, a worthy book, but in defining its worthiness I have depended more on Le Carré's statement of what he was trying to do than on my own sense of what he has done. I was careful not to read the letter, circulated by the publisher, until I had finished the novel. The novel seemed to me only a moderately successful spy story, much less successful than its predecessor; and, though I could not help but be aware of the author's skepticism about espionage as currently practiced, I did not catch all the implications that according to the letter I should have caught. It may be that the fault was mine, but I am not convinced of that. I am glad that Le Carré wanted to write something more than a thriller, but what he has achieved seems to me less than a thriller, not more. —GRANVILLE HICKS.

FRASER YOUNG'S LITERARY CRYPT NO. 1146

A cryptogram is writing in cipher. Every letter is part of a code that remains constant throughout the puzzle. Answer No. 1146 will be found in the next issue.

D TDXJLOA VL UDXJ PU DX

DXSTVAVRH VL STK OXPNKWUK.

JDNPJ QFFVWJ

Answer to Literary Crypt No. 1145

You might as well fall flat on your face as lean over too far backward.
—JAMES THURBER.

ON THE FRINGE

Answers from the Authors

JAMES MICHENER's current novel concerns a fictitious dig into mankind's past. W. A. Swanberg's new biography is a nonfictitious dig into one man's past. Marc Connelly has dug nowhere but into his own imagination for a high-level romp in Washington and the Middle East. Mr. Michener and Mr. Connelly are Pulitzer Prize recipients for previous works; Mr. Swanberg is well-remembered as the author of *Citizen Hearst*, which kicked up a storm among the Pulitzer advisers when the biography did not receive the prize. In short, aside from the fact that each of the three authors presented conversationally below is male and has recently published a new book, they have nothing in common other than that each is an interesting person to listen to.

Marc Connelly: "I feel like Hillary."

Marc Connelly *(A Souvenir from Qam)*: I'm seventy-four years old. I don't mind telling you my age. If I don't give it out, everyone else does. This is my first novel. Why? Why do anything? I feel like Hillary; it was there, that's why I did it.

All right, we'll talk about my play, *The Green Pastures*, if you want. I remember the first time I saw Richard B. Harrison who played "de Lawd God Jehovah." It was up at a little Negro casting office. I had been there about three weeks seeing people. The agent told me about Harrison. The agent said, "He's not an actor. He's been a Pullman porter." And then in came Richard B. Harrison. "God walked down the street like a man and a half"—that's from *Here Are Ladies*, by James Stephens. In one second, Harrison had us in a near state of genuflection. The most mellow, the most mature—he was like a fellow taking a mighty ship into port with great calm after the goddamndest storm. He was sixty-four years old. His only concern was that he might be doing a disservice to his race by playing the part. We did everything we could to put his mind at ease. He even talked it over with a bishop before he consented. The play opened in New York on February 26, 1930, and ran for six years, three in New York and three on the road. It closed when Harrison died after a matinee. I've always been glad I had a hand in his last years. Do you know that there are high schools and other buildings named after him?

It was Rollin Kirby, the cartoonist, who told me about Roark Bradford's book, *Ol' Man Adam an' His Chillun*, the basis for *The Green Pastures*. I wrote the first act on the boat S.S. *Dixie*, going from New York to New Orleans. I was going down to show the play to Bradford. I went into the farm country of St. Francis parish—Baton Rouge. Did you know that Robert Burns would read his poetry to the peasants to try it out? He read "The Cotter's Saturday Night" to a barkeep's daughter. I read my play to sharecroppers. It was in Louisiana that I picked up a phrase I became fond of: "In de dozens." I was told it meant the bluest of the blues. I put it into the play. The Lord said it to Moses. During rehearsals, the actors told me that in Harlem it meant "sleeping with your aunt." The expression came out.

Everybody turned down the play. It was Rowland Stebbins, a retired stockbroker, who produced it. Stebbins sold out his stock holdings fifteen minutes before the market crashed. Now, what else can I tell you about a dreamer's life?

W. A. Swanberg *(Dreiser)*: The W. A. stands for William Andrew, but I don't use it because my last name is so long. You don't want to complicate things. I'm fifty-seven and I'm 5′ 10″. Shrinking with old age.

I think it was my editor who suggested Dreiser as a subject. I had been looking around for my next biographical subject long before I finished *Citizen Hearst*. I

(*Continued on page* 62)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Keeping Peace Among Allies

The Troubled Partnership: A Reappraisal of the Western Alliance, *by Henry A. Kissinger (McGraw-Hill-Council on Foreign Relations 266 pp. $5.95), discusses the problems and the fundamental differences of opinion that have developed concerning the future of NATO. The Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., was Secretary for Air in the Atlee government at the time the Atlantic Alliance was established.*

By ARTHUR HENDERSON

THE COMPLEX and critical problems disturbing the Atlantic Alliance must cause serious concern to all who regard it as an essential bastion of peace and freedom in Europe. There can be no doubt that the Alliance has become, in the words of Henry Kissinger's title, a troubled partnership. The fact is that fundamental differences of opinion have developed concerning its whole future.

The Atlantic Alliance is perhaps the most powerful collective defense association ever known in peacetime. It grew out of and expanded the concept of a defense alliance within the framework of the United Nations Charter which the late Ernest Bevin, then British Foreign Secretary, put forward in 1948, when he proposed a formula for Western union embracing not only defense, but also technical, cultural, and social cooperation.

The Communist coup in Czechoslovakia and the Berlin blockade, as Dr. Kissinger points out, caused a turning point in Western policy, and it served to produce the decisive participation of the United States in what emerged as NATO in 1949. Thus the United States became directly involved in maintaining the security of free Europe against any further Soviet expansion. That was a development of momentous significance.

NATO prevented war in Europe throughout the subsequent years, contributed to the development of the policy of peaceful coexistence, and enabled practical steps to be taken in the direction of European unity.

But, as Dr. Kissinger makes abundantly clear, there have been adverse results as well. There have been "increasingly sharp disputes among the Allies." Unity within the Atlantic Alliance has been seriously strained. Problems that may be structural in origin have emerged as policy issues. "Thus . . . within the Atlantic Alliance disagreements about the future organization of NATO and the relative roles of its members have multiplied. The chief protagonists have been the United States and France." The author summarizes the divergent American and French attitudes in concise terms: "Now debating the wisdom of negotiating with the Soviets, now contesting the role of nuclear weapons, always disputing the future organization of Europe and the structure of the Alliance, the two countries have sometimes acted as if each has a psychological need to use the other as a foil. Each side has developed elaborate theories concerning the evil designs of its opponent."

The reader will discover that in discussing these disagreements the author presents the French position as fully and fairly as the American. What is disquieting is that there should be such deep policy divisions within the Alliance, and that on some issues United States and French views diverge so as to hold out little hope for harmony.

To take only one important point: Both the United States and France support the idea of European unity. But while the United States urges an "integrated" Europe in which the role of nation states would be diminished, President de Gaulle argues that unity depends on "the vitality of the traditional European States." He envisages a confederation of states rather than a supranational institution.

It is clear that the conflicting attitudes of the United States and France on this and other issues lie at the heart of many of the tensions that impair the present well-being and the future prospects of the Atlantic Alliance.

The author also shows that Britain has not escaped General de Gaulle's displeasure. He resented the Nassau Agreement, and he dislikes the "special relationship" that Britain is supposed to enjoy with the United States. The term was first used by the late Sir Winston Churchill in the House of Commons on November 7, 1945, when he referred to ". . . our special relationship with the United States and Canada about the atomic bomb." The connotation of this term has been misconstrued to imply that there is some kind of preferential relationship between Britain and the United States. Such is not the case. If "special relationship" is intended to mean that we speak the same language and have the same cultural antecedents, it of course is true; but it is a myth that Britain enjoys a "preferential relationship" with the U.S. at the expense of other NATO partners.

Two informative chapters deal with "The Nature of the Strategic Debate" and "The Issue of Nuclear Control," on which agreement has not yet been found

"Sorry, Captain, no room at your table again."

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

possible. Here it is vital that there should be unity of viewpoint and political aim. The alternative to real and effective interdependence is, obviously, the proliferation of nuclear weapons; and the "road towards nuclear proliferation has no logical ending."

It is relevant to mention here the view expressed by the British Prime Minister at the NATO ministerial meeting in London in May 1965:

> The sheer facts of thermonuclear weaponry, to say nothing of the hard lessons of economics, mean that outside the two major nations, the USA and the USSR, there cannot be a genuinely independent nuclear power capable of sustaining thermonuclear war or of providing a globally credible nuclear deterrent.
>
> The effects of modern nuclear warfare, no less than the realization that isolation is impossible even for the most powerful, mean that no nation, however great, can think in terms of going it alone, without allies and without regard to world opinion.

It is, of course, a fact that the United States is the leader of the partnership. But if there is to be a real interdependence Alliance, then it is surely right that the non-nuclear countries should have their say in the formulation and control of policies which will affect all the nations in the Alliance.

In a chapter dealing with East-West relations the author puts forward an interesting suggestion regarding the problem of the reunification of Germany, about which there are differing views within the Alliance. In brief, it is that for a period of fifteen years "the territory now called the German Democratic Republic [that is, East Germany] would have a status similar to that of present-day Austria." This proposal would mean that "a loose confederation could be established between the two German States, but East Germany would be independent, neutral, and demilitarized." Kissinger elaborates on this idea, but is cautious about its practical value, for his conclusion is that "it is improbable that any negotiating formula will advance German unity. Even the most reasonable program is likely to be rejected by the East. The long-term hope for German unity therefore resides in the unity of Europe."

This conclusion seems to me to be sound if by "the unity of Europe" the author means that the solution of some of the political and security problems in Europe dividing East and West.

Dr. Kissinger's book makes a timely appearance. During the coming weeks and months some of the disagreements and problems he discusses will have to be solved by the NATO governments if new life and strength are to be injected into the troubled partnership.

Breaking a Common Bond of Poverty

Unfinished Revolution: America and the Third World, *by C. L. Sulzberger (Atheneum. 304 pp. $5.95), concerns the quest of underdeveloped nations for economic betterment and national and human dignity. A. A. Castagno is professor of government and director-designate of the African Studies Center at Boston University.*

By A. A. CASTAGNO

IN ONE of his classic works, *The Stakes of Diplomacy* (1915), Walter Lippmann stated that the overwhelming problem of diplomacy is the weak state. Other authorities on world politics have insisted that the rampant nationalism and the proliferation of "small states" which followed from the Versailles Treaty were a contributing factor to World War II. Today the prophets of nineteenth-century nationalism still haunt world politics, for we have failed, as Alfred Cobban once noted *(National Self-Determination,* 1944), to adapt self-determination and modern nationalism to contemporary conditions of technology and world politics.

This is a main theme of C. L. Sulzberger's most recent book. It is a fascinating work that seeks to launch untried solutions for the problems that have been pounding that vast area—Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia—whose only common bond is poverty, an inferiority complex, and frustrated nationalism.

For Sulzberger, the unfinished revolution (the quest for economic betterment and national and human dignity) is three-pronged. The "revolution of self-determination" he sees as having been instigated by Woodrow Wilson, and given modern form by the decolonization process. The "revolution of Communism," shaped by Lenin and reshaped by Mao Tse-tung and Tito, provides organizational weapons for the nationalist movements. The "revolution of technical means," influenced first by Marconi and now by the transistors, provides even the most remote nomad with the ideology of revolt from the status quo. All three are analyzed in the context of the East-West struggle for the minds of men in the Third World.

Any such sweeping endeavor is wide open to criticisms. Area specialists particularly will find gaps here and there; some Africanists, for example, will not appreciate the short shrift given to the explosive problems of race relations in the southern tier of African states. Others will criticize the pessimistic pronouncements on African unity, economic development, and nation building. Both the realist and the idealist schools of international politics will look askance at some of the assumptions on international politics. Historians will grieve that Sulzberger has given Wilson such a decisive role in the formation of new states. And economists might find that the author has oversimplified the problems in international economics.

But once the reservations have been properly reported and the few factual slips recorded, the fact remains, at least to this reviewer, that this is one of the most perceptive, the most provocative, and the most thoughtful books to come out on such a complex subject. The reader may not agree with all the author says, but he will be compelled to think in new terms.

FOREIGN-POLICY makers, however, will feel a sense of frustration with the book. While agreeing with much of what Sulzberger prescribes, they will wonder how, given the role of public opinion and Congress in foreign policy, they are to implement his recommendations. There is no doubt that we should push reform in Latin America; but, specifically, how, amidst all the obstacles? We can agree that commodity prices for Latin American goods should be stabilized and our quotas reduced or eliminated; but will the variety of economic pressure groups in the United States be persuaded to follow the "national interest"? We can also agree that our racial attitudes at home have adversely affected our image abroad, to the advantage of Communist Chinese racist propaganda; but, after using the power of law, how do we change the souls and minds of men? Even if we were to agree that de Gaulle is emerging as a model for the leaders of new nations—quite a controversial point, this—and that he is one of the great leaders of the twentieth century, will American nationalism permit an objective appraisal of the orientation of a French nationalist? It is true that "no amount of foreign aid can substitute for lack of domestic effort," but how can we devise means to assure optimum use of foreign assistance by recipient nations?

There are a number of major points of disagreement which this reviewer har-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bors, but we can only mention a few. We should, as the author suggests, encourage the Western powers to continue their aid programs to their former colonies, but I wonder whether this will not ultimately limit our capacity to design effective aid policies should exigencies later demand them. As to Sulzberger's preoccupation with world racial issues, history and sociology suggest that they are not simply a matter of colored vs. white, as he largely depicts them. On this score, African political leaders are more sophisticated than he credits them with being.

On a more important point, Sulzberger has too much confidence in the power of the USA, the USSR, and Red China to effect change in developing areas. While this power is immense, there are basic limitations to achieving success—limitations which are raised by the environmental conditions of the Third World. Once this fact is grasped, the policies of the major powers might indeed be changed and the competition between them lessened.

Finally, the author leans too far toward the utilitarian, rather than the humanitarian, side of policy analysis and prescription.

The personal observations, wide experience, and intellectual probity that permeate the book are summarized in Sulzberger's last chapter, "Four Rules for the Third World." It is tempting to give a synopsis of them here; but I would prefer that they be posted in every classroom, in every billiard and beauty parlor, on every juke box, in every Sunday school, and in every bar. Once having absorbed them critically, we might then go on to the next step: creating the intellectual conditions of society in which our foreign policies are made not only in response to the Communist threat but also in response to our own innovational, creative, and humanitarian capacities *per se*. After all, foreign policies are the reflection of one's total civilization—they can be no more and no less than the underlying human, artistic, and scientific impulses.

LETTERS TO THE Book Review Editor

"Thingification"

SURELY A REVIEWER such as G. Hicks is entitled to his preferences for "representative" novels. Reader McIntire [*SR*, July 3] obviously has his. And his prejudices. The significance of *Invisible Man* seems indeed not to have been perceived by Mr. Hicks's critic. Must we point out the number of "citizens" who today do not wish to see the Negro as a human being?

Certainly what is happening in modern American literature is, as usual, an interpretation of American life. The difference is that a Mailer sees (lives?) the depersonalized "thingification" of our personalities as acceptable, if not as preferable. Man has always defended his current deviances as the awakening of a new moral standard. The responsibility for being human cannot be eluded by identification with the slick "things" of the marketplace. Mailer reflects a national character, but the one imposed upon us by exploitation of our acquisitive, personal, and sexual functions. In fact, in accordance with our new national duty to consume, Mailer could have forged his "new paths into contemporary language" simply by purchasing a tape-recorder.

Is one being "stodgy" by demanding that meritorious literature reveal those particles of dream, humor, and truth upon whose perception in another one finds one's humanity—even in the disillusionment of an Augie March?

ROBERT GIBBONS.

Hyattsville, Md.

Mis-labeled

I REGRET that in my review of *Hooded Americanism*, by David M. Chalmers [*SR*, June 19], I labeled the author as a "Northerner." He is a true Southerner from Florida, but a graduate of a Northern college.

ROGER N. BALDWIN.

New York, N.Y.

Herzog Again

I WISH TO TAKE ISSUE with Anne E. Levinson [LETTERS TO THE BOOK REVIEW EDITOR, May 15]. Take for example [Herzog's] letter writing. What a revolutionary, what an impressive idea, revealing as he does the philosophies, the cogitations of some of the greatest minds of past and present. Where have you seen anything quite like it? For this architectural feat alone he deserves the plaudits of his contemporaries. . . .

Many of Bellow's phrases are so trenchant with meaning I found myself rereading them to savor its nuance again. . . .

His characters are sharply etched; with a few deft strokes he draws a picture that leaves an indelible impression on your mind—take "Tante Taube" for example. I could go on and on *ad infinitum*. Of a man who writes like that, you can say his work . . . is boring?

SARAH M. FEIN.

Atlantic City, N.J.

UNTIL RECENT LETTERS in your column showed otherwise, I had thought I was alone in recognizing *Herzog* as a crashing bore. What merit critics see in this piece of tripe is beyond comprehension but not surprising; critics have banded before into cults for authors of similar worth. By diligent application I managed to get through almost half of it. I may finish it some day, should I be shipwrecked with it on a desert isle and after ten years still not rescued.

HARRY ROBERT.

Maywood, N.J.

Parentage Established?

STANLEY WEINTRAUB mentions in his review of *Max: A Biography* and *Max Beerbohm's Letters to Reggie Turner* [*SR*, Apr. 17] that the latter book "oversimplifies the mystery of his [Turner's] still-unestablished parentage. . . ."

S. N. Behrman in his *Portrait of Max* agrees with author Rupert Hart-Davis that Turner's mother is unknown. He, however, identifies his father as Lord Burnham: "He was the proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph* and a great pioneer in English journalism. He also owned the Gaiety Theatre. He was one of the celebrated men of his time. Edward VII, when Prince of Wales, visited him every year at Hall Barn, his country place near Beaconsfield. Burnham was born Levy. He later changed his name, first to Levy-Lawson, and then to Lawson. The family was of obscure origin."

DAVID W. BATTERSON.

Sand Springs, Okla.

Crowded Scene

SO ALAN SHARP [LITERARY HORIZONS, *SR*, May 8] is "an obsessive writer about sex"? So what else is new on the writing scene?

MARY H. SCHWARTZ.

Atlanta, Ga.

OP Ballads

WHY DON'T SOME of these publishers put out a reprint of Gleeson White's *Ballads and Rondeaus*? This, the best compendium of this type of verse, has been long out of print and unobtainable. It would surely interest the many lovers of this type of verse writing.

THOMAS F. MITCHELL.

South Amboy, N.J.

Dog House for Grass

AFTER READING a couple of books by Günter Grass, and H. F. Peters's review of *Dog Years* in *SR*, May 29, I am still to know Mr. Grass's purpose as a writer, or what he is for or against. This much I do know, thanks to Michael Stone: Günter Grass sports a walrus mustache, which must look charming in a glass of beer; also he is to be found everywhere in West Berlin.

Seems to me this all adds up to much ado about nothing.

GENE GALVIN.

Los Angeles, Calif.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

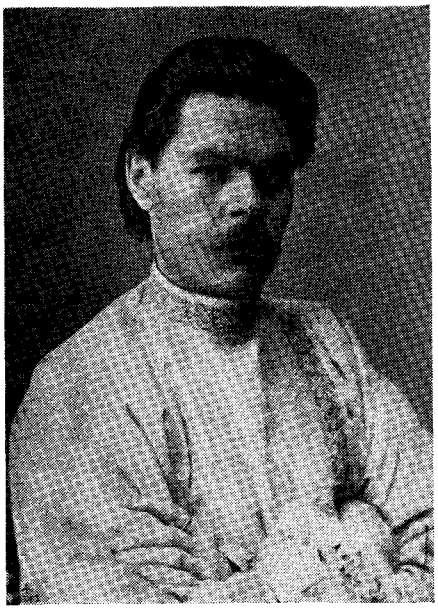
A Prophet and a Prisoner

Stormy Petrel: The Life and Work of Maxim Gorky, *by Dan Levin (Appleton-Century. 332 pp. $7.95), and* ***The Memoirs of Ivanov-Razumnik,*** *translated from the Russian by P. S. Squire (Oxford University Press 374 pp. $5.60), recount the lives of two prerevolutionary Russian writers, one of whom accepted Bolshevism while the other rejected it. Irwin Weil, associate professor of Russian and Russian literature at Northwestern University beginning next January, is completing a book on Gorky's literary development and influence on Soviet writing.*

By IRWIN WEIL

MAXIM GORKY was a self-educated writer from Nizhni-Novgorod (now renamed after him) who achieved world fame only partly by the excellence of some of his work; he was the most prominent prerevolutionary writer to identify himself publicly with the cause of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. Dan Levin has exercised faithfully the art of biographer in his attempt to capture the writer whom the Russians considered their literary representative of the common man and prophet of the revolution—hence the title from Gorky's prose poem "Stormy Petrel," the sea bird who triumphantly heralds the storm.

Mr. Levin's book is superior to the previous long biography by Alexander Kaun (who is extensively quoted), mainly because it is now possible to write when all the returns are in, excluding those documents still kept secret in the USSR. It is no easy job to gather evidence on a subject still sensitive to Soviet authorities, and Mr. Levin has covered a great deal of ground, both in and outside the USSR. He has given excerpts from the superb essay by V. Khodasevich, Gorky's poet-emigré friend, making them available in English for the first time. Khodasevich explains Gorky's exit from the young Soviet Republic in 1921 in terms of the political fortunes of Zinoviev, who vied with Gorky for the post of "head man" of Soviet culture. It is hard to understand why Mr. Levin ignores the statements by Gorky's fellow-writer Zamiatin (author of *We,* Orwell's inspiration for *1984*) connecting Gorky's departure with his disgust at the Cheka



—*Bettmann Archive.*

Maxim Gorky—"a nation made habitable for cleaner, better humans."

execution of the poet Gumilev, after Lenin had promised a reprieve and Gorky had passed the comforting word on to the poet's family. Mr. Levin also throws up his hands, for lack of evidence, at the task of describing the tricky relations between Gorky and good Soviet writers of the 1920s and '30s: Fedin, Leonov, Babel, Sholokhov, and others. Perhaps the present biography was too far along to take advantage of the voluminous and fascinating correspondence between Gorky and these same writers when it was finally published by the Soviet Academy of Sciences in 1963, after long concealment.

THE most painful parts of the book are Mr. Levin's abrupt shifts from formal language, describing elevated revolutionary hopes, to a use of slang inappropriate to the context: he translates Morozov's description of Chekhov as "hick doctor" in politics; *Tsar' Batiushka* becomes "Tsar Daddy"; Gorky overcomes a "crush" on Lenin. The use of slang in describing Gorky is probably meant to suggest the writer who so beautifully evoked the Russian language of the street, but Mr. Levin is unable to master the completely natural, unforced language of characters in Gorky's artistic works.

The book is clearly not as good as Mr. Levin's intentions; but his impulse to see the modestly human side of Gorky brings out some impressive scenes, particularly the accounts of Gorky and Chekhov and of Gorky in America. Mr. Levin does this without blindness to his subject's weaknesses. Perhaps the following quotation sums up the better parts of the book and the man:

> This [revolutionary] vision of a nation made habitable for cleaner, better humans was Gorky's real desire for the revolution. To whatever extent his hope has come true, he is one of those for the land to thank; to the extent it failed, the tragedy marked the rest of his life, and the final phases of his art.

Tragically for the memory of Gorky, many courageous Russians with good literary taste, in the USSR as well as among emigrés, treat him as a mere lackey of the Stalinist régime. This view seems to me unjust, usually based on a mixture of resentment for maltreatment and a lack of complete information.

SUCH an attitude can clearly be seen in the *Memoirs* of R. V. Ivanov (Razumnik, "the rational one," was his literary pseudonym), a radical Russian critic in the populist tradition. Shortly before the 1917 revolution he had the "misfortune" to be one of the most serious and erudite Russian radical critics opposed to the Marxist approach in literary criticism. The results of such scholarship, and not only for this scholar, were protracted visits to *Tyotushka* ("Auntie"), *i. e.,* prisons of the Cheka, GPU, and NKVD. His prison memoirs are moving precisely because of his almost pedantic determination to keep them from being so. He admits, correctly, that he is not a skilled writer, and he adopts an ironical pose toward the remembered events ("in the times we live no other tone has seemed appropriate"); the irony itself is overdone—humor was far from the forte of Russian radical critics—yet this heavy-handedness is entirely appropriate to the circumstances. The reader's imagination is convinced and transported to Soviet prisons in a most cruel fashion, and the irony is compounded by an initial description of a prerevolutionary Russian prison where Ivanov-Razumnik had been incarcerated for radical activities. As he points out, comfort is relative, and that prison, in Soviet retrospect, seemed a paradise.

What a remarkable generation the author represents! The clarity of his perception survives countless humiliations: the harder the authorities try to break him, the more strongly self-reliant he becomes. His only comment to Dzerzhinsky, first director of the Cheka making the rounds of the prisoners, was, "Do you think this is worthy treatment for a Russian writer?" When he was thrown into an unheated, unlit basement cell whose floor was cold mud, he organized

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a lecture series with his fellow inmates, "The Club of Cultural Educationalists." As one fellow prisoner, an ignorant chauffeur, said to him: "Well, I thought I'd die an ignoramus and never have a chance of book-learning! Thanks be, Stalin and the NKVD have looked after me and sent me to prison!"

The author repeatedly demonstrates the unhistrionic devotion of this generation of Russian intellectuals to matters of the literary spirit. While there were those who gave in under pressure, there were always others, on both sides of the prison barriers, who quietly resisted and helped where and when they could. With such people the words "writer," and "literature" were always magic passwords.

The memoirs record the observations of Redens, head of the Moscow Secret Police Section, to his trainee interrogators who are silently watching Ivanov-Razumnik: "You see before you one of the representatives of that counter-revolutionary intelligentsia which unfortunately we have not yet succeeded in completely eradicating." And the NKVD's fears were justified: no amounts of terror proved sufficient. The intelligentsia survived Stalinism, and is providing a spiritual leaven to the present Soviet younger generation.

The translation and annotation are by P. S. Squire, Fellow of Churchill College at Cambridge, who obviously knows

Russian intellectual and literary history well; his comments will be helpful to nonspecialist readers. While there are very few actual mistakes in the translation, it is unfortunate that Ivanov-Razumnik's irony and colloquialisms have been flattened throughout the text. Granted that such translation is devilishly difficult, it still seems unfair to render *ubliudki* as "runts" when the word is used to describe the spoiled children of Communist higher-ups denouncing their parents for nonexistent crimes. *Ubliudki* carries the connotation of unworthy offspring, produced by mixed or illegitimate union.

Other effects are lost in the translation, which includes the clumsy and archaic "Thanks be. . . ." While the translator shows that he was aware of the problems, an improvement over many English translators of Russian, he does not seem to have found solutions that are just to the original. But the reader should be grateful to Mr. Squire, in spite of these faults, for making available the first English translation of the text of the *Memoirs*.

World Power Through Witchcraft

The Makepeace Experiment, *by Abram Tertz, translated from the Russian by Manya Harari (Pantheon. 192 pp. $3.95), tells how a messiah-dictator-clown establishes, by means of psychological and literal sorcery, an eerie, independent town, a microcosm inside the Soviet macrocosm. Peter Viereck's account of his personal talks with leading Soviet writers appeared in Northwestern University's Tri-quarterly for June.*

By PETER VIERECK

NO ONE today reads Kafka's *Trial* or *Castle* as local satire on old *Mitteleuropa*. Faulkner is no longer primarily read as social criticism of the American South. The same transcendence—from local social criticism into universal psychological truth—has herewith been achieved by Soviet Russia's leading underground writer, Abram Tertz (pseudonym). His beautiful new novel, *The Makepeace Experiment*, should not be read in America (though it will be so read) as political or primarily anti-Communist. Its subject is man.

The Makepeace Experiment tells how Lenny, a small-town messiah-dictator-clown, using psychological as well as literal sorcery, establishes the town of Lyubimov as an eerie, independent microcosm inside the Soviet macrocosm. By manipulating man's humanitarian dreams (he can will toothpaste to taste like fish paste), Lenny almost succeeds in "proclaiming Lyubimov the capital of the world." In contrast, genuine humanity is shown to rest on Lenny's traditionalist *babushka* mother. "Really, mama," he vainly protests, "your own son is very nearly ruling the stars and you talk about God!" Solzhenitsyn, Russia's other great post-Stalin novelist, likewise based man's survival on a simple peasant-woman saint in his best story, *Matryona's House*.

On the universal human level Tertz shows that not only "all power tends to corrupt" but also all-powerlessness (shown as the cause of power-drunk overcompensations). On the local Russian level he satirizes the chauvinism and anti-Semitism of the new Soviet ruling class; the Jewish minority serves to remind the latter "that history didn't begin today and that no one can tell how it will end."

Such thoughtful observations alternate with banal ones. Are the latter, the reader may ask, only there to be laughed at (like the Party jargon and pseudo-folksy proverbs), or sometimes meant literally? And why the constant shift between realist nuances and surrealist slapstick? For answer, turn to Tertz's earlier book, *On Socialist Realism*, where he develops a whole literary credo of "twentieth-century . . . phantasmagoric art" based on this deliberate shift.

Are Tertz's method and style really so modern or original as Western literary critics, and Tertz himself, may claim? Kafka, Joyce, and French surrealism are the Tertz sources often named by Western critics. Actually Tertz owes more to the Russian Olesha, and most of all to the early nineteenth-century German romantics: not only the partly remembered E. T. A. Hoffmann but the half-forgotten Tieck (*Phantasus*, 1812), Jean-Paul Richter (*Titan*, 1800), Brentano (*Godwi*, etc.), and Chamisso. From them Tertz borrows whole his main techniques: romantic irony, self-doomed supermen, *Doppelgaengers*, and the aforesaid realism-fantasy oscillation. When Tertz interrupts himself with such ironic footnotes as "Stop philosophizing and get on with the story," he echoes the interruptions in such early-romantic drama as Tieck's *Kater*, 1797. From the Tieckian Hoffmann, plus Russian fairy tales, comes the Tertz sequence of two combatants changing into crow and pursuing hawk. With a writer so important and so misunderstood, more than mere pedantry is involved in documenting his real roots.

It may be retorted, what clues have I to prove Tertz's knowledge of these authors? His earlier book took its title as well as its methods from Hoffmann's *Fantastic Stories*. And in the present novel Tertz calls someone "a pallid blossom from the pages of Novalis." Any Russian today who knows Novalis's blossoms would also know those of Tieck, Brentano, Richter. There is more of Tertz's overpublicized "surrealism" in Novalis's *Ofterdingen* (1800), where stars in heaven are moved through toy replicas on earth, than there is in Breton, Cocteau, or even Kafka.

To deny Tertz's reputed novelty and originality is not to deny his esthetic merit. His *Makepeace Experiment*, his *Trial Begins*, and his story "Icicle" make him a major figure in world literature. Yet his greatness lies, not in originating some supposedly "twentieth-century"

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

method for dealing with current totalitarianism, but in fulfilling a nineteenth-century method; his present book is the best late flowering of early German romanticism, garlanded with the best Russian and Jewish cultural influences. Most critics see at least something new in the book's key concept: the mysteriously sealed enclave of Lyubimov, impenetrable to the rest of the Soviet Union, a seeming paradise, camouflaging Satan's conquest of mankind. But the very same concept was earlier the key to Kuehnelt-Leddihn's insufficiently known novel of Catholic existentialism, *Moscow 1979* (1946).

Manya Harari is a gifted translator. But has she here been faithful to the subtleties of a book where subtlety is not peripheral but central? Tertz writes:

> The chief officials did not see, did not suspect that the town of Lyubimov was encircled in a radius of thirty kilometers by an electric signalling system. Uninvited guests had only to step across the boundary and lights would flash, a bell would ring in Leonid Ivanovich's headquarters, and instantly the Commander-in-Chief at his post would direct the energy of his will to the appropriate square, diverting the eyes of the guests away from their set course. The town sank into a state of invisibility. But before they had laid the signal cable through the swamp, two scouts had already slipped into the city zone. They had crept into Lyubimov from two directions and, unrecognized by anyone, were up till now lying low . . .

Consider what this has become in Mrs. Harari's hands:

> In reality the city was protected by an electric signalling system. A zone with a twenty-mile radius was surrounded by cables and any uninvited guest who stepped across the border was announced to the C. in C. by bells ringing and lights flashing at his H.Q. Ever at his post, Makepeace turned the intruder away by directing his will power at the appropriate square on the map. What he didn't know was that, before the system had been set up, two secret agents coming from different directions had slipped inside the zone where they were now lying low.

Tertz's "did not see, did not suspect" has become "in reality"; "diverting the eyes of the guests away from their set course" is reduced to "turned the intruder away." Tertz's style has been further "improved" by some jolly abbreviations and the complete omission of his third sentence. Finally, ever lacing up sloppy ends, Mrs. Harari combines the last two sentences into one, which has a "what he didn't know was that" which Tertz forgot to put in. Distortions occur on every page; the example cited is really one of the better spots.

The Dear, Dead Days

The Garden of the Finzi-Continis, *by Giorgio Bassani, translated from the Italian by Isabel Quigly (Atheneum. 293 pp. $4.95), nostagically recalls a quasi-love affair between two adolescents in an Italian Jewish community just before World War II. Thomas G. Bergin teaches Romance languages and literature at Yale.*

By THOMAS G. BERGIN

Giorgio Bassani—influenced by the great rememberer.

CONNECTED with the vigorous publishing house of Feltrinelli and sometime editor of *Botteghe Oscure,* Giorgio Bassani looms large in the Italian literary scene. His own publications are not numerous but have consistently won high acclaim from the critics. The work before us, Bassani's first full-length novel (and not very long at that), is a fair sample of his field of interest and his style, and is furthermore, I think, his best work to date.

It is in essence the story of a fumbling, adolescent quasi-love affair between two youngsters in the Jewish colony of Ferrara during the years immediately preceding World War II. Told in the first person by the protagonist from a vantage point of twenty years later, it has a melancholy flavor, casting a veil of poetic irony over the events and personalities of an all but incredible period.

The action is hardly very complicated: the capricious Micól of the wealthy Finzi-Contini family casts her spell over the young hero and brings him into her circle. We follow the pair through their trials in school and university, their sentimental gropings and eventual separation, while over it all the ugly political atmosphere of the times—the racial laws, the increasing influence of Hitler, finally the war itself—hovers like an enveloping cloud. We know from the introduction that Micól, like all her relatives, is destined for the gas chamber; the narrator mentions briefly his own sojourn in a concentration camp. We know from the beginning that it is a tale of old, unhappy, far-off things, somehow relieved and illuminated by the bitter-sweet pleasure of memory.

So the tennis games, the flirtation, the books read and cherished, all the dear dead things of that lost world, are recalled in nostalgic detail. Memory is in fact the muse of this little study: "For me, no less than for her," our hero reflects in the very middle of a "bundling" scene, "the memory of things was much more important than the possession of them. I longed for the present to become the past *at once,* so that I could love it and gaze fondly at it any time."

This is Proustian, brazenly and self-consciously, and the jacket blurb alludes to the influence of the great rememberer. The comparison is a little hard on Bassani, for to mention it is to become aware of what a miniature this study is when compared to the vast canvas of Proust's work. Giorgio Bassani's scene is not Paris but a provincial Italian city, and his milieu is a small colony within that small world; the characters are few and, except possibly for Micól herself, hardly developed in depth.

The Garden is not a "great" book. But it is an honest book, and tells with a kind of probing tenderness a true story of sensitive and vulnerable youth in a somber decade.

From outer space to ocean floor the camera is making fresh discoveries about the seen and unseen world. *SR* looks at these latest ventures in viewfinding in

"The Questing Camera"

By Margaret R. Weiss

Coming August 28th

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Try Just Looking

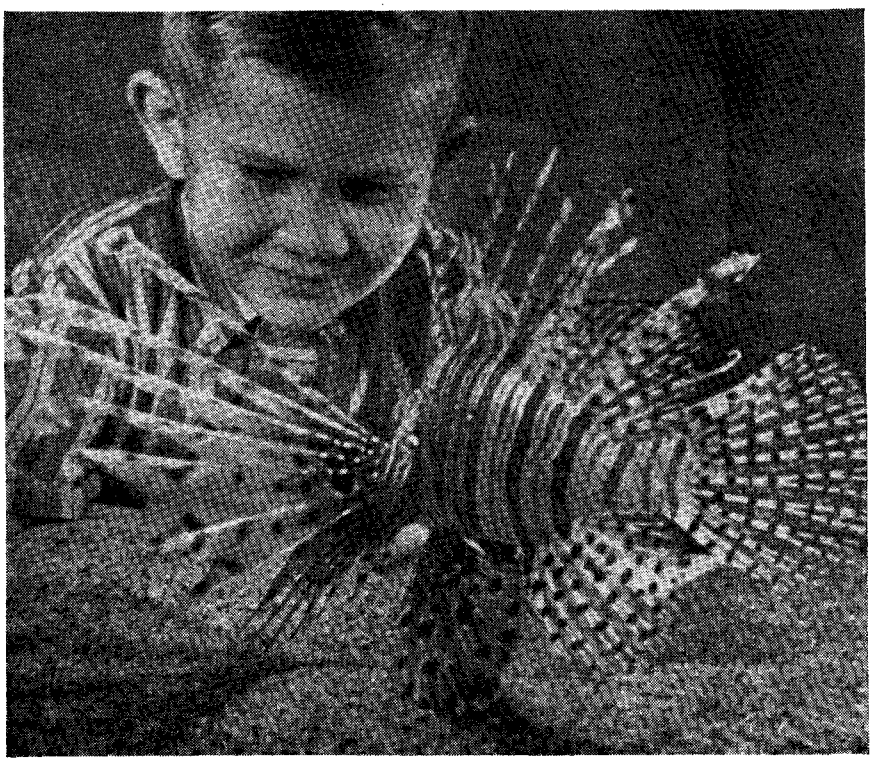
By ALICE DALGLIESH

IT WAS in July 1961 that I wrote my first article and reviews for *SR*. Four years later I look back to find that its title was "A Time for Wonder." I felt then, as now, that the years of childhood were a time for wonder that would not come again. Not the wonder of fairy tales—but wonder about the world and its creatures.

When Rachel Carson died and we were told that the book on which she was working, referred to at that time as "Teach Your Child to Wonder," was unfinished, it seemed that parents, teachers, and others who live and work with children would be much deprived. Then, to my pleasure, I found in *McCall's* for June 1965 an essay, "The Sense of Wonder," which shows that at least part of the book was in publishable condition. With additional material it will be released in the fall by Harper & Row.

For the present, referring to the essay, I like particularly Miss Carson's emphasis on feeling as being even more important than facts. When her little nephew was twenty months old she took him to the beach at night to get the feel of it. How much of it he absorbed we do not know. Later she took him walking in the woods on a rainy day, when the moss was springy underfoot. Then, too, she played with him a game about the birds and squirrels and bugs decorating the tiny Christmas trees that fitted their size. Purely anthropomorphic? Perhaps so, but a lot of fun. She was a scientist who never drew a sharp line between fact and imagination for children, though I am sure this child knew which was which. Possibly she did not live to take him on the promised night tour to see the "little fiddlers" in the grass. I noticed this especially inasmuch as those of us who reviewed Rebecca Caudhill's *A Pocketful of Cricket* favorably were criticized for doing so—this because the boy had a cricket in his pocket, or the fact that he had a "pet" cricket at all. I had two communications from well-known authors about that cricket.

In reviewing the book I spoke especially of the charm of text and pictures, and was more concerned about the shy boy's relationship with his teacher on that first day of school than the pocketed cricket. Rachel Carson's approach to crickets is, I admit, better, employing, as it does, night, a flashlight, and a magnifying glass to see the little fiddlers.



—From "Wonders of an Oceanarium."

" . . . wonder about the world and its creatures."

Yet, to my way of thinking, there will always be imperfect situations and imperfect characters in books, and children will always be ready to point these out. Experience tells me that at least one listening or reading child will say, "Why didn't the teacher give him a box or a jar to take the cricket home in? Why did she let him put it in his pocket again?" Why?

Among the books I've assembled for review this month are, naturally, some about enjoying summer days and the creatures that share the world with us. Quite accidentally, and rather to my amusement, one of them is *First Aid for Insects and Much More*, by Arthur A. Mitchell (Harvey House, $2.50). The jacket copy begins: "The next time you catch a cricket take it home with you. It will make a very interesting pet." And undoubtedly you will need *First Aid* in order to keep it alive at all. This is a "young collector's book," which tells how to feed and house the creatures and gives some advice on eventually letting them go free. Should collecting be encouraged? Do "science fairs" encourage it beyond normal limits? Almost all children go through the collecting state, and this is something to consider.

There are two books about the beach, differing widely but both useful and readable. *Elizabeth the Treasure Hunter*, by Felice Holman (Macmillan, $2.25), has a story approach. The children are hunting for a definite "treasure," which turns out to be a well-filled lunch box. Meanwhile they find, and Papa discourses about, some sea creatures. They leave full of lunch and with a hermit crab, a starfish, and some periwinkles in a pail. Why do they collect these, and what do they do with them? The story does not say.

Tide Pools and Beaches, by Elizabeth Clemons (Knopf, $2.95), a practical book with good diagrams, deals with the sea creatures of both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. The author begins by stating that sea creatures do not live long out of sea water and even suggests making a small aquarium on the beach, so that they may be observed while you are there. If you must collect, she tells what to do. But there is one horrid little paragraph about putting a hermit crab into cold water and bringing it to a boil. This kills the crab (without doubt), and you can add it to your collection. Would I, as a reviewer, throw an otherwise good book aside because of this? No. Would you? But if I were an adult accompanying a child to the beach, I'd insist that the hermit crab be left just where he is. As the author says in her closing chapter, "Try just looking." And, for compensation, take home a good selection of shells in which nothing happens to be living!

(*Reviews appear on page* 48)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Little Tiny Woman: A Folk Tale. *Illustrated by Margot Zemach. Bobbs-Merrill.* 32 *pp.* $1.95. A teeny-tiny book holds a teeny-tiny folktale that is really a teeny-tiny ghost tale. It's fun in this book, and the pictures in purple and red are good fun, too. As I tell the story it isn't "little tiny" but "teeny-tiny," which seems to slip more pleasantly from the tongue.

At the end there is a typographical surprise. All ages. (4-8?)

The Question Box. *By Jay Williams. Illustrated by Margot Zemach. Norton.* 48 *pp.* $2.95. Maria, daughter of the clock winder, is a most homely and unlikely heroine, but somehow one believes that she really asked questions, actually went up in the clock tower on that most unlikely and unclimable ladder, and found out for herself how the clock worked. This clock had warned the town when invasion threatened, and that was a mystery Maria also solved—saving the town by so doing. It's the kind of story that calls for rereading. Ages 5-8.

A Map Is a Picture. *By Barbara Rinkoff. Illustrated by Robert Galster. Crowell.* 40 *pp.* $2.95. Perhaps you are staying at home and taking short trips this summer; perhaps you are taking a long trip. In any case, this book explains maps very clearly and pictures many kinds, including a star map. Children are fascinated by maps if introduced to them as skillfully as this book does it. No age level (lower grades?).

Ghosts Go Haunting. *By Sorche Nic Leodhas. Illustrated by Nonny Hogrogian. Holt, Rinehart & Winston.* 128 *pp.* $3.75. These stories are fine for telling around a driftwood fire, or for reading on a warm summer day. Humorous, well-written, well-illustrated, the book has a glossary in case you don't know the few words of "braid Scots" sprinkled through it. You might choose "How Tammas Macwar Macmurdo Maclennan Met His Match" or "The Ghost That Didn't Want to Be a Ghost"—any of them. There are more good, slightly spine-chilling stories in *Gaelic Ghosts* and *Ghosts Go Haunting* by the same author. No age level (possibly 10 up).

Wonders of Hummingbirds. *By Hilda Simon. Illustrated by the author. Dodd, Mead.* 64 *pp.* $3. Those of us who live in the East can see only one species of the marvellous bird that Audubon called "this lovely little fragment of the rainbow." Those who live in the Far West are more fortunate. I was lucky in that I grew up in "The Land of the Humming Bird"—the meaning of the Indian name for Trinidad. In this book we may see the numerous exotic species that live in lands near the equator, and we also find out how to attract the American species to our gardens. Many of the mysteries of this bird are explained: its ability to hover, its strange flight patterns, and its iridescent coloring. Miss Simon's illustrations make this a charming and rewarding book for children or adults. No age level.

Wonders of an Oceanarium. *By Lou Jacobs, Jr. Photographs by the author. Golden Gate Junior Books.* 80 *pp.* $4.75. To see the larger denizens of the ocean, plus some of the smaller and especially interesting ones, an oceanarium or aquarium is necessary. This book provides a good description of Marine Land near Los Angeles, and especially of its performing dolphins, whales, and sea lions. Whether these creatures like to perform is not stated. Dolphins wear a permanent smile and love to jump; sea lions seem to be natural hams. Although the oceanarium has found, however, that a whale kept there too long grew depressed, he seems to have been improved by tranquilizers. Good photographs. Ages 10 up.

I Saw You from Afar. *Written and photographed by Carol Morse Perkins and Marlin Perkins. Atheneum.* 58 *pp.* $3.25. This unpretentious, attractive little book adds to our knowledge of the people of Africa, by presenting the Bushmen, a tribe of small people not to be confused with the Pygmies. Their ancient greeting is the title—dignifying the stranger who can be seen "from afar" because he is tall. Although their actual way of life is that of the primitive hunter, "they have learned to eat almost anything that can be eaten." Water is a problem, but they know where it lies deep below the sand and suck it out through long, hollow straws. The photographs are good (especially that of a group of "lovely golden children smiling up at us from the warm red sand"). They were cave painters; Attilio Gatti tells in his book *Here Is Africa* (Scribners) of discovering some of their paintings. Ages 8-12, perhaps older.

Wild Swans at Suvanto. *By Alan C. Jenkins. Illustrated by Robert Frankenburg. Norton.* 192 *pp.* $3.50. According to a Lapp legend, the wild swans bear summer on their wings and, should they not return, there would be no more summer in Lapland. After eight months of dark winter that would indeed be a tragedy.

This made things difficult for fifteen-year-old Jouni when he offered a beautiful scarf to Marjatta (the equivalent of "pinning" in America). She refused it, saying, "I will accept a scarf from him who brings me a wild swan." And Nüla, who also admired Marjatta, had no qualms about shooting a wild swan.

A quiet but interesting story which resolves the dilemma, and tells a good deal about the Lapps and their way of life. The author has lived among the nomad Lapps. Ages 5-12.

The White Twilight. *By Madeleine Polland. Illustrated by Alan Cober. Holt, Rinehart & Winston.* 154 *pp.* $3.50. Sixteenth-century Denmark, with its strange white twilight in summer evenings, is the setting of this historical novel, which might also be considered a mystery story. The plot is involved. Hanne, aged twelve, goes to the castle of Kronberg to be, she thinks, her father's companion and housekeeper. Her father, a busy architect working on the castle, explains that he has no need of a housekeeper, that she will enjoy herself with the other children and have her own serving woman. This disappoints Hanne; however, Carl Adam, whose father in turn seems too busy to bother with him, becomes her friend, and they explore the castle together. There is an interesting interlude in which Hanne and Adam sail to warn Adam's father, a pirate, that his ship is in danger and land on an island where they see the House of the Stars, the remarkable observatory of the famous astronomer Tycho Brahe, with whom Adam is to study later.

Carl sees his pirate father's ship sunk, and is forced to admit that he was not a good man. Hanne, however, is glad to be a child again, back with her father, who will help her decide what is right or wrong in the confusing adult world she has entered with Carl. She is an unusual heroine, one who does not want, after all, to grow up. Ages 9-12.

Americans in Space. *By the editors of American Heritage and John Dille. Harper & Row-American Heritage.* 153 *pp.* $3.95. A well-timed book, coming as it does directly after the flight of *Gemini*, this one also has the advantage of color pictures, two of them most spectacular. Besides summing up the experiences of all the astronauts, save the last two, the book provides a brief historical section, as well as adequate comment about Robert Goddard. While there are space books that contain more information, this is a good introductory one. No age level.

Coins and Coin Collecting. *By Seymour Reit. Illustrated by W. T. Mars. Golden Press.* 108 *pp.* $1.95. Judging by the shortage of silver coins, coin machines and collectors must be snapping them up. This is an efficient and well-illustrated book for beginning collectors if we need to encourage more of them at present. Various ages.

Explorer of the Unconscious: Sigmund Freud. *By Adrien Stoutenburg and Laura Nelson Baker. Scribners.* 202 *pp.* $3.95. In so far as Freud's theories can be presented to children, this book does it; it is also a good biography. A doctor reviewing it for *The New York Times* remarked that twelve-year-olds reading it would come up against the fact that many of Freud's hysterical patients insisted they had been introduced to sex by male relatives. Actually, the book is aged 14 up—but once the jacket is off it becomes ageless. Personally, I think that there may be a few girls for whom this book would be a rough awakening, but most twelve-year-olds know the facts of life. I am not sure though that it belongs in the children's room at the library, and not all libraries have young people's rooms. For those that have such rooms it is an introductory book.

To the Zoo in a Plastic Box. *By John and George Newmark. Illustrated with drawings and photographs. Random House.* 240 *pp.* $3.95. The authors of this book for collectors of creatures are identical twins who dote on collecting, and their life work seems to be collecting for the London Zoo. They offer suggestions for collectors, though they admit that zoos are particular about what is collected and may not care to have miscellaneous collections of animals and insects. Light, amusing (the humor is distinctly English), the book would be good for summer reading if one is interested in the subject. No age level—an adult book that the teens may enjoy.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hammarskjöld

Continued from page 33

cient precept, "he alone sees, who sees all beings as himself." This concentration was for Dag Hammarskjöld a path to human relations without which active service could not be carried out. Behind the self-focus was a commitment to other-service. As austere as Dag Hammarskjöld seemed to many, by official position and intellect, we now know that he possessed the need to be needed, and to be used.

During the past year there have been published two separate journals, both rare disclosures of the spiritual life of the two authors, each on the highest plane of public life and service. One of these, the *Journal of a Soul*, is the account of the spiritual ascent of a great and simple man, the late Pope John XXIII. The other is Dag Hammarskjöld's *Markings*. These accounts of life-long search for realization overflow with the nourishment men seek in our time. With the publication of *Markings* we cannot ever again assess the political work of Dag Hammarskjöld apart from the contemplative man. Both occurred in one man, inseparably. It was an example of Karl Barth's assertion: "Thou art man, man of this world; and thou dost belong to God." We see Hammarskjöld's conduct as Secretary General influenced by what he demanded of himself: "We have to acquire a peace and balance of mind such that we can give every word of criticism its due weight, and humble ourselves before every word of praise."

Dag Hammarskjöld was one of many pilgrims in search of an ethic, but his unique position in international affairs makes his writings an exceptional legacy.

It is probable that there are persons who on reading *Markings* feel belated concern that Dag Hammarskjöld's momentous dealings, once thought to have been entrusted to a practical diplomat, were in fact in the hands of a mystic and poet. That is not a valid concern. He knew when to use the tools of diplomacy, and knew also where the strength of the mystic was well placed. The fact that both qualities were used, each with clarity and effect, did not mean that the quiet mind of the mystic was disjoined from the probing, counseling hands of the diplomat. His unique role and achievements were possible because he was a master of interchange in using the several qualities of his character yet mindful of the inner voice of integrity.

The Dag Hammarskjöld Lectures, which the Johnson Foundation has been privileged to assist, is an ideal design, and symbol, for expressing tribute to the man. One can even imagine that these lectures might have been commissioned by the late Secretary-General. He would have seen the value of a series of independent statements made by leaders with versatile experience in human affairs, and would have sensed the triumph of this project as a proclamation of faith in the future. Dag Hammarskjöld, whose life—not death—brought these lectures into being, had his own thoughts on the prospect for man's future—

> When I think of those who will come after—or survive me—I feel as if I were taking part in the preparations for a feast, the joys of which I shall not share.

A special booklet on the Dag Hammarskjöld Memorial Lecture Series given under the auspices of the Johnson Foundation of Racine, Wisconsin, has just been released under the title "The Quest for Peace," with an Introduction by Andrew W. Cordier. It contains, in addition to Mr. Paffrath's article on Dag Hammarskjöld, published above, extracts from lectures by U Thant, Adlai Stevenson, Lester Pearson, Alva Myrdal, and Barbara Ward, among others. Copies of the publication may be obtained from the Johnson Foundation, Racine, Wisconsin, 53402.

Written on the Wind

By Harold Witt

I MIGHT as well have written on the wind—
my letter came back addressee unknown,
no person there who cared to correspond;
my vivid missive blew away like smoke,
a ghost in gusts, and gone before it spoke.

More, more than that, Dear Sir or Darling Madam
illiterate to all that I disclosed—
the P.O. says you never were the one
and warns me from the use of envelopes
once misdirected, for a second try.

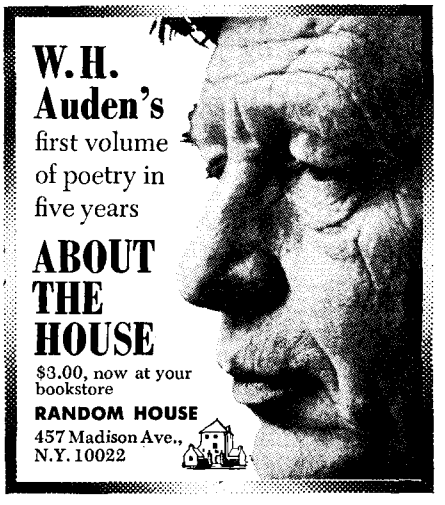
I don't know now what state you might be in,
or alias you're lately going by
or whether I can stand the chance again
of waiting for the yes, Yes of your reply
and finding no one home to revelation.

I might as well have inked it on the water,
or mailed it out by flagon in the sea
as have it back, a closed and cancelled matter—
returned to sender—if a man can be
said to send with no known addressee.

add *ZIP*
to your
SR service

Please look at the address label on the cover of this issue. Does it include your Zip Code? If not please drop us a post card with your Zip Code number. You will do the Post Office and *Saturday Review* a favor . . . . and add Zip to your subscription service.

Saturday Review
Subscriber Service Division
380 Madison Avenue New York, N.Y. 10017



PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Undercover Job

HENRY MORGENTHAU III, who produced and wrote *South African Essay,* a two-part sequence for National Educational Television, was rebuffed twice during the year he spent preparing the program at WGBH, Boston's educational station. Not only did South Africa's Information Office refuse to grant him a visa to do "an objective report" on the nation's apartheid crisis, but three major U.S. corporations with large capital investments in South Africa declined his invitations to have their spokesmen appear on the program. Mr. Morgenthau, with imagination and enterprise, overcame the first rebuff (though not the second) and produced the most comprehensive, penetrating study of South Africa I have seen on television. The South Africans permitted Terence Filgate (a Canadian) and Peter Jeffries (an Englishman) to come into their country and shoot film purportedly intended for a documentary that would be shown in the American South to audiences sympathetic to apartheid policies. The surrogate producers were, however, actually agents for Mr. Morgenthau, and with the assistance of the host government and other individuals (some of whom took great risks) they assembled their footage and shipped it back to Boston under false labels.

The views of the South African government were fairly represented, as were those of white liberals, black nationalist leaders, and helots who accept apartheid and live comparatively well under it. The first hour-long program laid out the more familiar background of the African majority's exclusion from their country's prosperity, of the stripping of their rights and dignity. The second was more absorbing, unfolding a new picture of bantustans, the black African national homelands, which were described as the "key to Prime Minister Verwoerd's plan for the survival of South Africa under white control." The government intends to consolidate these native reserves into eight bantustans, with a measure of self-rule, but "gerrymandered to exclude all of South Africa's known mineral deposits, big cities, and developed seaports." The Transkei—so far the only bantustan to be established—is held up by the whites as the model of a just solution to the racial problem. *South African Essay* revealed it as a fraud aimed at misleading world opinion. The Transkei, the program asserted, is an economically unviable puppet, which the black nationalists will never accept. They hope instead to build a new South Africa for all races, but if the government blocks their aspirations with bantustans, men of peace will surely give way to men of blood. The program noted the support given to South African prosperity by foreign business corporations that are "reaping rich profits." Black Africans say that the United States often eloquently deplores apartheid but adheres to a policy of noninterference in the internal affairs of South Africa. "As long as we remain relatively aloof from the South African racial confrontation," the program narrator said, "we appear—especially in the eyes of the Afro-Asian world—to support the oppression by the white South African regime."

"And I can get you a couple of guest shots on the Sullivan show, a cross-country tour, and then your own spot on a national network."

TO his credit, Mr. Morgenthau stated his convictions on the questions of national interest and the moral issue, but the statements were brief and general, and they left the viewer with a desire to grapple with specifics. How do American businessmen (and stockholders) justify their role in a South African prosperity that oppresses the black majority? Is our government correct in its hands-off policy when it shows no scruples in intervening in other countries where we think our interests are at stake?

South African Essay was originally to be a one-hour program, but NET expanded it when the material warranted. The producer chose a design that eliminated important considerations, yet, paradoxically, the deeper a program penetrates its subject, the more it gives rise to serious questions. The policy questions might have been incorporated in the original design, at the cost of dropping some familiar material from the first program, but in any case educational television ought to stand ready to meet an important need as it arises. A third *South African Essay* would meet the need here. It is not only that we are watching South Africa. Chief Albert Luthuli, Nobel Peace Prize-winner, said in his book *Let My People Go*: "In our eagerness to hasten peaceful, nonviolent political evolution here, we watch the outside world closely, particularly those parts of it whose trade with South Africa involves them with the fruit of African labor."

—ROBERT LEWIS SHAYON.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Lusty Minister

IT IS NOT exactly a trade secret that it requires $1,000,000 to obtain Elizabeth Taylor's services for a movie, and the price for the tandem appearance of Miss Taylor and Richard Burton is $750,000 more. The enterprising producer Martin Ransohoff came up with his own story, called *The Sandpiper*, got the Burtons' signatures on a contract, and now, as they say in the trade, he's got himself a picture. This means not that he has made a *good* picture, but that he has made one almost guaranteed to turn a profit. I mention the above to dispel any illusions that *The Sandpiper* may offer a significant or interesting cinematic experience; what it does have is $1,750,000 worth of so-called acting talent displayed in lavish Panavision and Metrocolor, directed soporifically by Vincente Minelli, using situations and lines of dialogue written by Dalton Trumbo and Michael Wilson, from an adaptation by Irene Kamp and Louis Kamp.

From the purely commercial point of view, Mr. Ransohoff has done no wrong in assuming that vast numbers of people would be interested in seeing the Burtons together in a story of star-crossed love. What bothers me, though, is how so many intelligent people could take seriously the mess of windy platitudes and stale stereotypes that make up the substance of the tale. Miss Taylor is introduced to us as a free-spirited young woman of Bohemian inclinations who is raising her young and illegitimate son into what she hopes will be unfettered and nonconformist manhood. The State of California regards the boy as troublesome, however, and insists that he be enrolled for corrective purposes in a private boy's school run by a handsome Protestant minister who turns out to be Richard Burton. The minister is married to Eva Marie Saint, has two teen-age sons of his own, and upon meeting Miss Taylor is drawn not only to her appetizing appearance, but to her free-willed or "sandpiper" way of life. Soon they are embroiled in a portentous affair in which pangs of Victorian conscience corrode the minister's inner spiritual being, and eventually he decides to leave the school, separate from his wife, and seek a new purity of soul. He doesn't even get Elizabeth Taylor.

Some of Miss Taylor's dialogue appears to have been cribbed straight out of *The Feminine Mystique*, that book's general argument serving as her justification. Where Mr. Burton's dialogue derives from is harder to ascertain—old-time afternoon radio soap operas, perhaps. The scene is mainly the Big Sur region of California, where the poverty-stricken Miss Taylor lives and paints (she's an artist) in what seems to have struck the scenic designer as an appropriate place, a charming cottage high on a bluff overlooking a dreamy stretch of beach on the Pacific, the kind of place any poor soul could probably buy for forty or fifty thousand dollars. In this lovely hideaway she poses in the nude for a beatnik sculptor, but is modest enough to cover part of her bosom with her hands when the minister unexpectedly walks in. In spite of the story, in spite of her role, Miss Taylor achieves an almost monumental quality: she is *the* star, not walking through a part but employing it as a vehicle. Her acting is of the kind that is convinced rather than convincing. Mr. Burton is less convinced. If his lust is understandable, none of his other actions are.

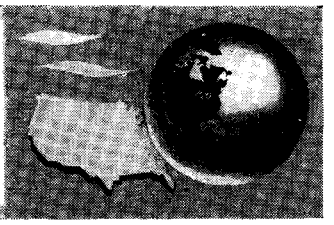
A much more modest undertaking was the Boulting Brothers production of *Rotten to the Core*, a deft, slightly insane comedy about a bumbling band of thieves who nearly get away with a couple of million dollars (in pounds, of course, this being an English film). The leader of the band, played by Anton Rodgers, organizes the operation by using the latest scientific methods, his aim being to lift the payroll for a whole British division deployed in a camp for inspection by a German general of the NATO forces. Mr. Rodgers is a clever actor and comedian who parodies a German general, a doctor in charge of a clinic given to dispensing mineral water laced with gin, and a secret agent unraveling a mysterious government's menacing plot. His assistants are less intelligent but always funny, and parodies of a police officer and a private detective (retired from the police force by collapsed arches) are cleverly wrought by Thorley Walters and Eric Sykes, respectively. Nothing great in the way of English satire, the gags are nevertheless inventive, and the modestly capable direction sees to it that the laugh is obtained and the cut swiftly made to the next gimmick. Anton Rodgers bears watching; he's an original.

—HOLLIS ALPERT.

"You don't look like a smut writer."

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As Others See Us



VANCOUVER:

The U.N. at Twenty

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S SPEECH at the United Nations' twentieth birthday observances in San Francisco set short- and long-term goals for the member nations of the world organization. But essentially the President's call was for a United Nations that will have sinew and teeth. It must have these or fade away, and it cannot have them unless the great nations of the world, the U.S. included, are willing to provide them and to accept the U.N.'s mandate even when it impinges on their own sovereignty. . . .

There is no doubt that the U.N. is in trouble. Vietnam proves it, and it will be no easy task for the world body to follow Mr. Johnson's urging "to bring to the table those who seem determined to make war" or to bring them into his imaginatively named "alliance for man."

The crisis of financing peacekeeping operations is a symptom rather than the disease which besets the U.N. The most difficult current problem is China. But even this is but an obstacle in the way of what Mr. Johnson rightly conceives as the U.N.'s principal tasks—achievement of disarmament, solving the overpopulation problem, and banishing poverty and inequality.

But let it not be forgotten how the world organization steered the nations past other crises, from the Berlin blockade and Iran, through Korea, Suez, and the Congo.

Its most serious failure has been its inability to master the power patterns of the atomic age. Yet when all is said and done, men must say of the United Nations that if it did not exist it would have to be invented. If it fails, the last great hope of peace may go with it.

—*Vancouver Sun.*

LONDON:

The Price of Poverty

THE POVERTY PROGRAM in the United States is in some minor trouble. With so much sticky money and so many new jobs and patronage suddenly available, it was inevitable that politicians would be attracted.

It was inevitable that the old outraged cries of "boondoggle" and "pork barrel" should resound in tones of calculated outrage. But the fact remains that this program is one of the best and most American things that America has undertaken in a long time.

The first idea of a program of this sort was President Kennedy's. During his election campaign he fought a primary in West Virginia. He fought this with a single-minded Kennedy-type ferocity that is still held against him by his opponents.

It resulted in the defeat of the present Vice President, Hubert Humphrey; but in crossing and recrossing this poor relation among the American states the candidate also saw rural and mining poverty that came as a surprise even to a man who had a nodding acquaintance with the slums of Boston. . . .

The program itself is wholly American in concept. There is little of the welfare state and nothing of socialism in it. It owes nothing to Lord Beveridge. Its purpose is to give the deprived, the underprivileged, the down-and-outs, a chance to re-enter the great society.

Essentially it is a training program designed to help men and women to help themselves. It depends heavily on local organizations and voluntary help. It is a crash program to right the careless wrongs of capitalism.

American poverty is less obvious than, say, British poverty. It is hidden in forbidding slums where strangers are discouraged. It is disguised under bright shirts and behind the wheels of third-hand cars and in a cloud of marijuana smoke. It is hidden at the end of dirt roads in the country and in almost secret valleys in the mountains.

Yet the authority that runs this program, the Office of Economic Opportunity, reckons that America has 34,600,000 in the poverty class. To qualify, an annual income below $3,000 a year for a family of four or $1,500 for an individual is the entry pass.

In this lush society where every native can become President, poverty sets up its own vicious cycle. Poverty forces an early dropout from school and poverty quells ambition and confidence. In a population of some 200 million there are some 2,360,000 known adult illiterates, and there are probably more.

—*Patrick O'Donovan in the Observer.*

—*Ludas Matyi, Budapest.*

Copyright suit: "He stole my foreign policy!"

HELSINKI:

When East Doesn't Meet West

AS RECENTLY AS at the time of President Johnson's taking office last winter, the situation seemed not inauspicious for positive developments. The President, who had won a towering victory at the polls with his peace program, declared his complete willingness to talk with his counterpart in the new Kremlin government in order to chart the possibilities of progress.

The situation today can hardly be characterized in such positive terms. . . . It is to be feared that hopes of a contact at top level between the chief protagonists of East and West have been scuttled, for the near future at least. It remains to be seen just how deep the rift is. . . . —*Hufvudstadsbladet.*

MANCHESTER:

Pressure on the President

AS AMERICAN CASUALTIES mount in Vietnam, President Johnson is beginning to suffer the political torture of the rack. The two-way stretch of his critics is so

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

far quite supportable. But it is almost inevitable that the pressure from both sides will steadily grow as their contrary demands become increasingly insistent and shrill.

On the one side are those who call for moderation in the American operation and a greater effort in seeking a negotiated settlement; on the other, those pressing for a military victory and all the American support necessary to attain this. As the number of American casualties rise, the proponents of these opposite viewpoints can be expected to increase their demands.

The President's policy has been to give way a little in both directions. But even for so politically astute and nimble a politician as Mr. Johnson there must be a limit to the possibility of moving simultaneously in opposite directions. He must ultimately either be torn apart or give way to one side. . . .

—*Manchester Guardian Weekly.*

COPENHAGEN:

Blind Alley

THE ONLY REASONABLE WAY to peace is through understanding, President Johnson said a few months ago when he again exhorted his counterparts in Vietnam to participate without pre-stated conditions in negotiations. . . . The tragedy is that nobody has succeeded in bringing the partners together at the negotiating table. A number of unsuccessful attempts have only made it more difficult to find out what political or diplomatic means could be counted on to evoke a positive reaction in Hanoi-Peking. At the same time it has to be admitted that military power—employed on both sides with growing intensity—has shown itself to be equally unsuccessful in finding a path that would lead to peace.

An increasingly broad international opinion demands renewed efforts to bring about something to stop the meaningless loss of life and materiel in Vietnam. The developments have evoked worry and dissatisfaction not only in the United States but also among its friends. . . . —*Politiken.*

STUTTGART:

Test of Strength

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY holds, behind the guise of a variously defined "peaceful coexistence," the basic view that while the West cannot be brought to heel by a frontal attack on its power centers, it can be slowly choked to death by steady pressure against its flanks on the margins of Europe, in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. . . . After some hesitation American leadership has finally recognized what is really at stake. If it allows itself to be thrown out of Vietnam, then the same fate awaits it not only in such Southeast Asian countries as Thailand, but also in Africa and elsewhere. . . . The credibility of American promises of aid would be cast in doubt from Berlin to Japan. . . . The test of strength [in Vietnam] from the Western standpoint must contain for the Soviet Union the lesson that it will not be allowed to crumble away the Western sphere of influence. For this reason the Gaullist criticism of American Vietnam policy seems naïve and arrogant. The exaggerated preoccupation with national grandeur blinds many people to the fact that in Southeast Asia it is not a matter of colliding national interests. At stake is not the new China's search for a legitimate expansion of its national power. It is a fight between West and East, between international Communism and democracy. In Vietnam America represents the Western world and therefore it merits the support of all Western nations. —*Stuttgarter Zeitung.*

BUDAPEST:

Two Goals

THE POLICY OF peaceful coexistence is aimed at two things. It wants to save mankind from a third world cataclysm . . . , and it also wants to create favorable international conditions for a peaceful victory of the socialist system over capitalism. . . .

Leaders of the Soviet Union have declared several times that Soviet-American relations cannot be considered apart from the broader, general questions of peaceful coexistence. It seems, however, that Mr. Johnson refuses to take notice of this. . . .

—*István Darvasi in Népszabadság.*

BRUSSELS:

Perilous Illusion

THE DEBATES in the American press on the war in Vietnam show that a certain number of editorial writers no longer share the perilous illusion that can push the world into a nuclear war. Among the youth at American universities there is also an examination of conscience . . . that is quite far from the irritating image of the great democracy leading the world. Certain Americans believe and say that it is absurd for the United States to try to exercise any leadership in Asia. They assert that the show of power in Vietnam will arrive at a goal exactly opposite to the desired one. . . .

—*Le Peuple.*

After Goldwater: The pathetic and lamentable state of the Republican Party in the spring of 1965 is shown by the extraordinary excitement which was stirred up by Representative John Lindsay, a liberal Republican member of Congress, when he decided to run for Mayor of New York City. True enough, Mr. Lindsay is a glamorous and articulate personality who clearly has his eyes on the White House. But he must be classed as a distinct underdog in the overwhelmingly Democratic city of New York and, even if he is elected Mayor, he cannot be considered a Presidential possibility before the election of 1972. Yet there has been so little stirring in the Republican Party since its disaster in the Presidential election in November, and the absence of strong personalities in the party is so apparent, that Mr. Lindsay's surprise decision was seized upon as a shred of hope and thereby blown up out of all proportion.

But Mr. Lindsay's candidacy is really no more than froth on top of a stagnant party situation. The seven post-Goldwater months have been wasted months for the most part. No one man or group of men has assumed forceful leadership. . . . At the heart of the Republican problem is the continued reactionary outlook of the party's rank-and-file workers, who control the organizations at the state and local levels. These were the Republicans who comprised the core of Mr. Goldwater's support last year, and it is no surprise that they have learned little from his disastrous candidacy. Rather than attempting to broaden the party's base by competing actively with the Democrats for the allegiance of working-class voters and minority blocs, these Republicans grumble that the country has taken leave of its senses but that someday it will return to rigid conservatism. Accordingly, the party workers' early favorite for the Presidential nomination in 1968 is Richard Nixon, not because they feel that he would necessarily be the strongest possible candidate against Mr. Johnson but because they feel that he now comes closer than any other Republican to emulating Goldwater-style conservatism. To his discredit, Mr. Nixon now spends most of his time trying to foster that impression. —*The Economist, London.*

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Alternative

Continued from page 35

a dynamic instrument of governments through which they, jointly and for the same purpose, should seek such reconciliation but through which they should also try to develop forms of executive action."

Obviously Dag Hammarskjold was first referring to the members of the Soviet bloc, which have opposed the extension of the authority of the United Nations in various crises and were insisting that an independent Secretary-General be replaced by three Secretaries-General, according to a plan they called a troika. Unfortunately France, under General de Gaulle, consistently opposes any expansion of the concept of a world society. Much of the time, the United States has been a leader of the states that have supported the development of forms of executive action.

A somewhat similar division exists within many countries. Some citizens and government officials regard the United Nations as a diplomatic and propaganda tool—an instrument of convenience to be used or not as immediate circumstances seem to dictate. While they want nations to observe their obligations to keep the peace, they regard governments as essentially amoral and do not believe that an international society can be based upon moral standards.

Other citizens and government officials regard the United Nations as the foundation of international policy. They believe that when governments ratified the Charter they agreed to a fundamental orientation of their foreign policy, looking toward a peaceful world of law and moral standards.

This division is very much in evidence in the United States Government today. In Washington, there are those who regard the United Nations as one of many diplomatic alternatives. To some, it is a nuisance that gets in the way when they wish to make a unilateral approach. One division of the government deals with the United Nations. However, other divisions may proceed as though the obligations of the Charter and its machinery do not pervade all phases of this country's foreign policy.

Many in the government regard the United Nations as the foundation of policy. Fortunately for the growth of the organization, the concept of a dynamic international society has been the view of many American statesmen much of the time—hence President Truman's Uniting for Peace Resolution, President Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace proposal, and President Kennedy's Decade of Development program.

The United Nations has developed rapidly because of impelling necessity and the growing conscience of mankind. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the extension of United Nations law into the frontier of outer space, the many peacekeeping activities, the thousands of representatives of the U.N. and its specialized agencies ministering to the underprivileged—all are evidences of this necessity and this conscience. The eight principles of agreed goals on disarmament of the McCloy-Zorin agreement project the United Nations as something more than a matter of diplomatic choice.

Nevertheless, the United Nations will falter, as it is doing today, unless governments and people come to realize that the organization is not an instrument of convenience but the beginning of a world society whose members are guided by moral standards and law. Nations are obligated to work for the development of the United Nations. It is superficial to say, as some American statesmen who should know better are now saying, that until the U.N. is stronger they will have to meet political problems outside it. The United Nations cannot stand neglect. It may try and fail, but in the effort it grows stronger. If nations keep issues from it in violation of their Charter obligations, it will wither.

Today the United Nations is being bypassed in the major problems that threaten world peace. This is the most serious crisis, for which the United States is being given much of the blame. The United States must resume its leadership, must do again what it has done so many times in the past—enlarge the vision of the United Nations society. The nations waited eagerly for a challenge from the President of the United States in his San Francisco address last month. They were very disappointed.

First and foremost, the United States should make it clear to the world that the United Nations is the foundation of its foreign policy. The following steps would come logically:

The United States must make a major contribution to re-establishing the prin-

Your Literary I. Q.

Conducted by John T. Winterich and David M. Glixon

SHAW VS. WILDE

When epigrams run in the same channel, it isn't necessarily plagiarism, but the similarities *can* lead to a confusion of authorship. In each of the following pairs, Martha Manheim of Pacific Palisades, California, has linked something by Oscar Wilde with something by George Bernard Shaw. Which said which? See page 56 for proper attributions.

	GBS	OW
1. (a) Do not do unto others as you would that they should do unto you. Their tastes may not be the same.	( )	( )
(b) Selfishness is not living as one wishes, it is asking others to live as one wishes.	( )	( )
2. (a) . . . by persistently remaining single a man converts himself into a permanent public temptation.	( )	( )
(b) Marriage is popular because it combines the maximum of temptation with the maximum of opportunity.	( )	( )
3. (a) Children begin by loving their parents. After a time they judge them. Rarely, if ever, do they forgive them.	( ) ( )	( ) ( )
(b) If parents would only realize how they bore their children!	( )	( )
4. (a) Virtue consists, not in abstaining from vice, but in not desiring it.	( )	( )
(b) The only way to get rid of a temptation is to yield to it.	( )	( )
5. (a) There are two tragedies in life. One is to lose your heart's desire. The other is to gain it.		
(b) In this world there are only two tragedies. One is not getting what one wants, and the other is getting it.	( ) ( )	( ) ( )
6. (a) I can sympathize with everything, except suffering.		
(b) Compassion is the fellow-feeling of the unsound.	( )	( )

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ciple of collective security. This country is now engaged in extensive military operations in South Vietnam without having called the situation to the attention of the Security Council as one that threatens the peace of the world. The United States has not asked for help in meeting a problem that has resulted in its being drawn deeper and deeper—close to a point of no return—into a large-scale military operation in Asia. Many nations, including some of the closest friends of the United States, are questioning the shortsightedness of American unilateral policy. The United States is now anxious for peace negotiations. The President has offered unconditional discussions. But it was not so long ago that voices in Washington were playing down a possible role for the United Nations and belittling the offer of the Secretary-General to use his good offices in a helpful manner.

The problem of Indo-China should have come to the United Nations twelve years ago. With the passing years, the situation in the three successor states has deteriorated. It is infinitely complex. It is difficult to see the precise way in which the U.N. would grasp the problem. Nevertheless, in some way or other, the United States must seek the collective wisdom of mankind in finding a solution to this problem, made more complex because of the new type of aggression—aggression by subversion.

Unfortunately, the argument today, in the eyes of many people, is between those who are in favor of a policy of appeasement by withdrawal from South Vietnam and those who would carry the war further to the north. A third way, the way of collective security, the way of asking help from the collective wisdom of mankind through the United Nations, is not being adequately discussed because the United States is not using it.

THE character of the action of the United States in the Dominican Republic, following so closely on the heels of the stepped-up military action in Vietnam, enhanced the impression that the U.N. was not a factor in the military and political considerations of this country. It also raised serious doubts as to the nature of regional police forces. When the U.S. Government proposed that the Organization of American States have its own peace force, it did not indicate how this force would relate to Article 53 of the Charter, which provides that no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council.

In an address in New York on May 27, the Secretary-General pointed out that if the OAS is competent to perform certain enforcement functions in its own region, then similar rights must be recognized as pertaining to the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States. He added that those who have sincerely and honestly dedicated themselves to the cause of the United Nations Charter "should do some heart-searching."

IN addition to helping revive the concept of collective security, the United States must make an imaginative contribution to restore and strengthen the system of United Nations peacekeeping. Canada and other smaller states have earmarked peacekeeping forces that the United Nations could use. The United Kingdom has obligated itself to take care of the logistics of several battalions of troops from the smaller states. Both the President of the United States and the Congress should indicate clearly that this country will make practical contributions to the development of peacekeeping forces.

The United States must help find new and imaginative means for financing peacekeeping operations. It may be necessary for this country to retreat from its rigid insistence on the enforcement of Article 19 of the Charter. The United States has given strong financial support to the peacekeeping efforts of the United Nations, especially for the Congo force. No one can challenge the legal correctness of the government's position, following an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice, that Article 19 be enforced. However, by insisting that nations cannot vote if they will not pay, the United States unwittingly gives the Soviet Union and France a veto over American foreign policy. It was easy for these nations to refuse to pay, thus preventing the Nineteenth General Assembly from discussing serious proposals for strengthening the United Nations in the world crisis.

The United States should constantly work in the U.N. to stand with those who embrace identical moral principles. The United States must find sympathetic ways of identifying itself with Canada, the Scandinavian countries, and others that are the most sensitive to what the United Nations means and are today skeptical of the policies of this country. The United States must find new ways to identify itself with the smaller states, many of them recently independent, comprising a majority in the United Nations. This country, which led the first revolt against the colonial system in 1776 and has encouraged the freedom and independence of many states today, should be able to find means of giving greater inspiration and leadership to them than do the representatives of the Soviet Union and Communist China.

The United States should advance proposals to strengthen the executive authority of the United Nations. It must continue to urge U.N. responsibility in outer space. It must oppose an extension of national sovereignty to uncommitted areas, possibly by proposing a United Nations regulation or ownership of the bed of the sea. It must repudiate those who would advance arms preparedness to the final absurdity of a military program for outer space.

The United States should also give serious thought to whatever strengthening of the organization, including a revision of the Charter, it would support. Such strengthening is implied in its plan for total disarmament in a vastly expanded universal United Nations.

The United States cannot accomplish these results by platitudes, or by declarations quickly forgotten. Its challenge to bold deeds must be backed by example.

"Cheaper color television, that's the answer."

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Foundations

Continued from page 31

ment projects that will eventually make possible, among other things, very substantial increases in the region's agricultural and industrial productivity.

But beyond these tangible achievements lies a deeper significance. For, in spite of the crises and conflicts that have wracked the area over many agonizing years, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and the Republic of Vietnam are working together day in and day out under U.N. auspices for the economic development of the region. And countries with the most divergent aims in other fields are jointly providing the necessary assistance.

This survival of economic cooperation in the midst of political and military conflict is little known, but it may someday be very well remembered. For it symbolizes two phenomena of the greatest long-range importance. The first is a growing realization by governments and peoples that hunger, ignorance, disease, and poverty are among their most dangerous enemies—common enemies that can be overcome only through common action. The second is a growing recognition that the United Nations—nonpolitical in the provision of assistance and able to muster an unmatched array of technical expertise—has a unique and increasingly important role to play in the global war on want.

Only a confirmed Pollyanna would deny the obvious fact that the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations finds the world with a shortage of unity and a surplus of conflicts. The much-publicized troubles that currently bedevil the U.N. simply reflect this sorry condition. But peaceful constructive forces are also abroad and at work, and these the U.N., on its record, is clearly fitted to harness and direct. Indeed, both its own survival and the survival of civilized mankind demand that it be given the chance to do so. For there is a clear and present danger that world population will outstrip world productivity, that the dragon's teeth of atomic weaponry will shortly be sown in a score of nations, that the gap in living standards between the poor and the prosperous countries will widen to an intolerable degree, and that the universal promise of outer space will be perverted by narrow nationalism. These perils, and many others, are global in their roots, their spread, and the shadow they cast. Thus they can be dealt with successfully only by the joint strength and wisdom of the world community, and by the nations acting in concert. Through what other medium can such forces be mobilized, if not through the United Nations?

"Mr. Bach will sing a fugue in a different key when his lease comes up for renewal."

What We Didn't Know

Continued from page 35

granted to the U.N. under the revised Charter.

8. Eligibility of all nations for membership in the United Nations. Disarmament will not be possible unless all nations are subject to the enforcement system.

These are the unanimous recommendations of our conference on the U.N. of 1975. I subscribe to them not only because I was a member of the conference, but also because they express my long-held convictions. These, to me, are the minimum essentials for peace.

The question, therefore, is not "Shall we give the U.N. a decent burial?" Rather, it is: How shall we revise and strengthen the United Nations so that it can maintain international peace and security?

THE U.N. probably cannot survive another ten years unless it is strengthened. The needed major surgery can scarcely be delayed any longer.

I shudder to contemplate the decade ahead should we fail to operate. We must graft on sufficient—but limited—powers to control armaments and prevent the use of force by any nation of the world.

I have faith that humanity will not consent to its own annihilation. I have faith that it can create a world of law and order. I reject the blind despair that cries, "Man is doomed, man is helpless."

Because I believe that drastic changes must be made in the U.N. Charter, I would hope to see an early Charter review conference under Article 109 of the Charter. Such a conference would formulate the necessary amendments for submission to the member nations. But such a conference will not come about by itself; it must be made to happen. We must make it happen. We must have the will to perform the task—in spite of criticism, lethargy, or opposition to change.

Charter revision is not a Utopia for the future. We cannot wait for the next generation to achieve it; there may never be a next generation. The need is essential, the time is now. This is the only way I know for enforceable world law to replace international anarchy. Without such law, there can be no peace. Certainly the task is difficult, but a world without it is impossible.

LITERARY I.Q. ANSWERS

Shaw wrote 1a, 2b, 3b, 4a, 5a, 6b; Wilde wrote the others.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Quiet Diplomacy

Continued from page 29

litical problems—which sometimes offset the sought-for results.

We are still living in a world of sovereign nations. Indeed, a distinguished American scholar said in the middle Fifties that because individual nations were wedded to their national interests the United Nations had no real future. But the definition of national interests keeps changing. The great objectives and principles of the Charter have become a significant part of each member country's national interest. To a considerable degree, this has made possible such effectiveness as the United Nations has had. Multilateral action in peacekeeping requires some encroachment upon national sovereignty. As the sovereignty of a nation bends to a full recognition of firm national purpose in the support of peace and general human welfare, a nation grows in its health, its stature, and its influence in world affairs. No people any longer live alone. Miraculous changes, producing limitless interlocking and interlacing relationships around the world, have produced, at least in that sense, a world community. Many of the world's acute problems can no longer be solved unilaterally or even bilaterally; they require multilateral action.

The United Nations and its members have accumulated a vast storehouse of knowledge in successful peacekeeping operations. Plans under way at the United Nations and in a number of member countries for future peacekeeping responsibilities are a sound projection of past efforts. Initiatives taken by governments in a dozen countries to earmark units in their armed forces for United Nations service represent a sounder approach to the problem—at least at this stage in the world's political evolution—than the creation of a standing army for the United Nations. The latter approach would suffer both from being too costly and from having within its ranks nationals who, from a political point of view, could probably not be called upon to serve at the time of an emergency. Steps are being taken to train the members of the earmarked units in the philosophy and principles of United Nations action and in the methods and procedures to be followed.

FROM the beginning the processes of mediation and conciliation—primary tools of the United Nations—have been used to good effect. During Dag Hammarskjöld's time these processes were developed into keen-edged and effective instruments. As the central part of the weaponry of quiet diplomacy it is a major asset to the world community in its search for a reduction of tensions.

Over the long span of history, one may look in vain for a center for political education comparable to that of the United Nations today. More than a billion human beings have achieved independence in our generation and their representatives sit in the United Nations. Here representatives of the older countries and the newer ones listen to each other. No foreign office can afford to formulate its policy on matters relating to the developing nations without taking into account both the substance and the atmosphere of these discussions. The peaceful transition of such a large part of humanity from colonialism to independence and from independence along the difficult paths to national strength and growth could not have taken place in the absence of the United Nations.

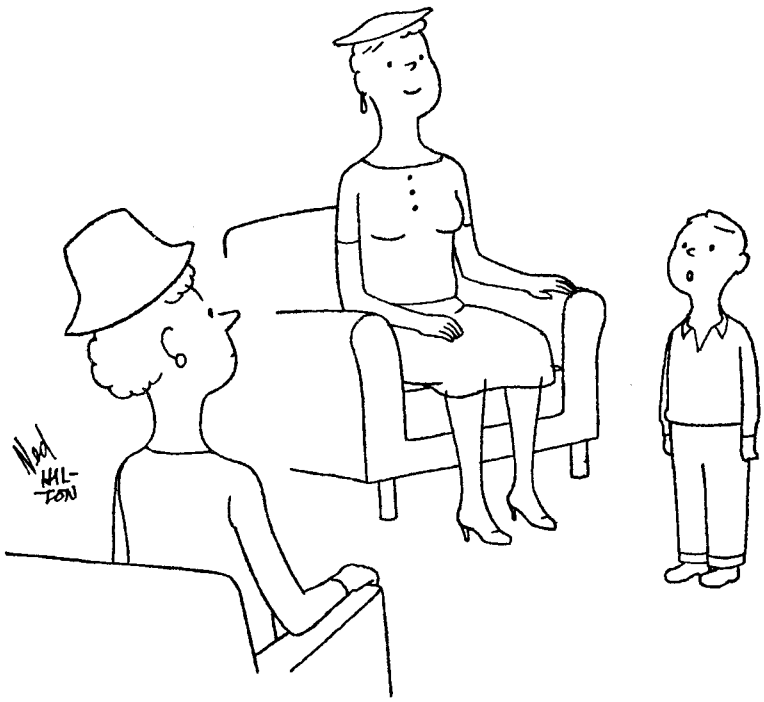
The United Nations has contributed much to the creation and strength of legal norms in international conduct. Dag Hammarskjöld in particular, despite his practice of lightning action in great crises, never made a major decision without studying its relevance to precedent and its contribution to the making of a body of common law. He never lost sight of the significance of law as a powerful guidepost for the future of international conduct.

In still another area, the United Nations has made an increasing contribution to sound national growth, particularly in the developing countries, through its Special Fund and Technical Assistance activities. These multilateral activities have been soundly conceived and effectively carried out. Their results are becoming more and more visible in nations representing half the human race. Members have increased their contributions, but far greater assets could be effectively utilized and would be made available if the developed nations realized that it was in their direct interest to enter into the most vigorous partnership with the developing nations for the achievement of their sound national growth and development.

THE Children's Fund, initially established as an emergency program, has developed into a continuous program of great humanitarian importance for the world's children and their mothers. Like the Special Fund, Technical Assistance, and refugee programs, it has important implications for sound national growth and for peace.

Despite the rancor and bitterness sometimes reflected in the United Nations debates, the organization has an obligation under the provisions of the Charter for the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms. It has done much through the Declaration of Human Rights, the drafting of various covenants, and the conduct of seminars to promote action in this field. Mankind's intolerance and inhumanity need constantly to be opposed and if possible erased through education, through legislative and judicial action, and through international efforts.

Our own rights and those of others are often less than fully realized unless paralleled by a full-throated acceptance of responsibility. Our present age of promise and threat requires all that we have to give in constructive support of the ideas and programs that will bring peace a little closer to reality.



"When I grow up I'll be well educated, capable, and superfluous."

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Different World

Continued from page 27

not figured actively in any postwar crisis, while Germany has been the scene rather than the cause of hair-raising confrontations. The Cold War that has dominated this generation with its clashes and climaxes has been a struggle among the chief peacekeepers of the Charter. "The ink was hardly dry on the Charter," said Adlai Stevenson, "before Moscow began its war against the world of the United Nations."

Even so, the organization, driven by an inner vitality and confronted with an outer need, rose to successive challenges which the drafters of the Charter could not have imagined. Leaving aside the instances in which the U.N.'s role was minor or peripheral, or those in which it was not involved at all, like the Berlin blockade and the Berlin wall, the United Nations has improvised for twenty years with impressive effect.

Confronted with open war in Palestine, where no other agency could fruitfully intervene, the U.N. capped its efforts at mediation and peaceful settlement with the establishment of the U.N. Truce and Supervisory Organization. This group of soldiers from small nations was the forerunner of more elaborate and active peacekeeping instruments to follow.

Aggression in Korea presented a different set of circumstances. The North Korean invasion began at a time when the Soviet Union was boycotting the Security Council in an effort to compel the seating of Communist China. Only their serious lapse of judgment kept the Soviets from vetoing the Council's call for help from all members to repel the attack. The United Nations force then sent to fight the Korean war was mainly provided, supported, and directed by the United States.

The chief political lesson learned from the Korean affair was written into the Uniting for Peace Resolution adopted by the General Assembly in November 1950. It was—to the degree that the Assembly may be considered a legislature—a statutory extension of the charter, providing for emergency special sessions of the Assembly on twenty-four hours' notice if a veto deadlocks the Security Council.

OTHER practical interpretations of the Charter were undertaken from case to case. When the Suez Crisis burst forth in 1956, Britain and France vetoed Security Council action, and the Soviet Union did not object to Yugoslavia's invoking the Uniting for Peace Resolution. The General Assembly went far beyond the letter of the Charter to satisfy, as its vast majority firmly believed, the Charter's essential requirement: to preserve peace. Dag Hammarskjöld was charged with raising the U.N.'s first real peacekeeping force, the U.N. Emergency Force (UNEF), with the members' consent. He based it on five guiding principles: 1) It could exist only with the approval of the country, in this case Egypt, on whose territory it would function; 2) it would not intervene in the internal affairs of that country; 3) it would include no contingents from any of the big five permanent members of the Security Council; 4) the cost would be outside the regular budget but generally shared; and 5) executive management of the force, within the limits laid out by the Assembly or the Security Council, would be in the hands of a United Nations Command responsible to the Secretary-General.

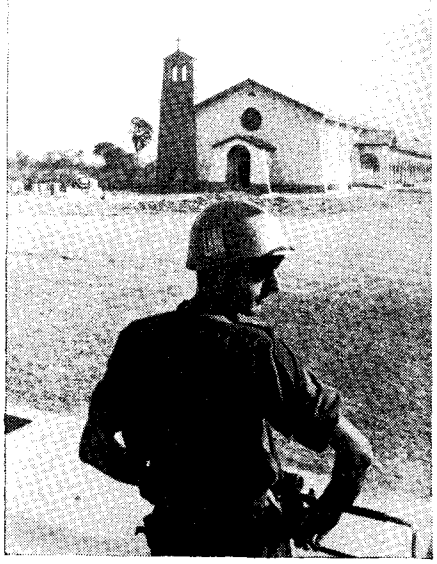
But in the case of the Hungarian revolt, which reached a shocking climax at exactly the same time as Suez, this pattern did not apply. The United States asked for an emergency special session of the General Assembly. But where the Assembly immediately sent an armed force to Egypt, all it did for Hungary was to ask Russia to withdraw its troops. The Soviet Union denounced this appeal and the United Nations was powerless to enforce it.

So successful was UNEF, however (and has been to this day), in quieting the nervous frontier between Egypt and Israel that the terms of its organization, if not of its origin, were applied to the Congo in 1960. With the Charter's peacekeeping machinery under its Chapter VII geared to the hypothetical and most unlikely contingency that a clear act of aggression would stir the Big Five to unanimous action, each peacekeeping case in the U.N.'s first twenty years has been unique.

The U.N. Operation in the Congo (ONUC, since the French acronym was more acceptable than the English) was initiated, endorsed, and expanded by five Security Council resolutions between July 1960 and November 1961. The Soviet Union approved four of them and abstained on one. The General Assembly appropriated the money, in assessments and in bonds.

THE Soviet Union appeared to conclude early in the game that the United Nations was filling a vacuum in the Congo into which the Kremlin had hoped to move. But in 1960 Nikita Khrushchev was presenting the USSR as the champion of the new African nations that were flooding into the U.N. membership. He could not openly veto an operation that was in large part shielding the new Congo Republic from Belgian influence. Instead, he threw himself with full frenzy against the entire concept of a U.N. peacekeeping venture that could escape the control of the Soviet Union. Dag Hammarskjöld protected himself and the powers of his office from Khrushchev's shoe-pounding fury by enlisting the support of the African and Asian countries in a Congo Advisory Committee. Surviving Hammarskjöld's death, this Afro-Asian backing helped preserve the office of Secretary-General when the Soviet Union tried to replace it with a troika and thereby secure for Moscow a veto over all Secretariat functions. Yet Khrushchev's failure to attain his immediate goal did not by any means signify that he had failed completely. His performance had a strong inhibiting effect on the smaller countries, however much the Western diplomats may have scorned it, and the stamp of rude Soviet determination has been on the political work of the U.N. ever since.

ONUC was not only highly controversial but also immensely expensive,



—*Pix.*

On duty—U.N. troops in Korea, left, and in Katanga.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

costing $120 million every year, far more than the U.N.'s entire regular budget. Both aspects together made it clear very soon that the United Nations would never again mount such an operation. However, other exigencies produced other formulas to extend the U.N.'s effectiveness a good distance beyond the strict terms of the 1945 Charter.

In 1959 the Security Council dispatched an investigating mission to Laos by what it chose to consider a procedural vote. No veto applies procedurally, and the Soviet Union was unable to stop the group from going to the scene and calling attention to Communist intervention in Laos. Furious, Nikita Khrushchev devoted much of his first visit to the General Assembly to threats that the United Nations would go the way of the League of Nations if it did not confine its actions to questions commanding unanimous approval.

Unanimity, in its practical U.N. sense, means above all agreement by the United States and the Soviet Union. Such accord prevailed in the West Irian episode; and it was the General Assembly, not the Security Council, that validated a diplomatic agreement whereby the United Nations temporarily administered the former Dutch New Guinea before turning it over to Indonesia. Pakistan provided the troops, Indonesia and the Netherlands split the cost, Russia smiled because the net gain was Indonesia's while the United States reluctantly followed its anticolonial inclinations against the policy of a NATO ally.

CYPRUS saw the shoe on the other foot, as far as Great Power interests were concerned. The Soviet Union would probably have preferred to let the communal struggle fester, but joined in approving a U.N. peacekeeping operation, even though it included a large British contingent, because both Moscow and Archbishop Makarios wanted to forestall the installation of a NATO force on the island. The cost is borne entirely by voluntary contributions outside the U.N. budget.

In the Yemen dispute, a much smaller U.N. observer mission was dispatched at the request of Egypt and Saudi Arabia, the two main parties, which agreed to pay all expenses.

The history of the United Nations efforts to preserve peace is one of broad improvisation from one emergency to another—often far removed from the fundamentalist, 1945 construction of the Charter. In these twenty years the Charter has been broadened, just as the United States Constitution has been spread and adapted to the times. In the case of the Charter, however, pragmatic interpretation has not been allowed to stabilize through public acceptance of precedent in the tradition of the English common law, through approval by a Supreme Court and legislative development by a Congress. And there has been no consistent pattern that might have imposed its own logic on reluctant members. The consensus that has launched successive operations has been formed each time by a new combination of expediency, necessity, and accident. Some of the U.N.'s peacekeeping activities—and one might cite Korea, UNEF, the Congo, and Cyprus—have been enormously successful in that they have prevented either a dangerous shift in the strategic balance or a big-power war. But, lacking supranational authority as the creature and servant of its discordant members, the U.N. has not solved the underlying problems. Its function has been mainly to buy time for reason to prevail, where reason exists to prevail at all. That it has occasionally done very well. But other of its efforts have had no visible effect on the course of events. And in some important instances—most recently in Vietnam and in Indonesia's open campaign of guerrilla warfare against Malaysia—the U.N. has been denied a role altogether, either by the refusal of some of the main parties to recognize its jurisdiction or by Soviet veto.

The struggle over the interpretation of the U.N.'s Charter powers, waged since the preconference at Dumbarton Oaks in 1944 and lying at the root of the present constitutional crisis, has seen its share of paradox. The United States, generally supporting the principle of an active, dynamic United Nations, quickly answered Lebanon's call for help in 1958 despite the presence of a U.N. observer group in that country and Dag Hammarskjöld's chagrin over unilateral intervention. Washington has always preferred to let the Organization of American States deal with emergencies in the Western Hemisphere, but would welcome a way to bring the U.N.'s stabilizing influence into Vietnam. And the United States, working to preserve the Assembly's power to recommend peacekeeping operations as a last resort when the Security Council fails, has its grave doubts that the Afro-Asian majority will always throw its weight responsibly. The hysterical attacks in the Security Council upon the rescue of European hostages from the Congolese rebels in Stanleyville last fall, the occasional praise of Red China's nuclear test as a "peace bomb," and the ease with which some Afro-Asian countries are stampeded into a double standard by the issue of "colonialism" have given Washington many second thoughts. And American officials wistfully cite the fact that a two-thirds majority in the General Assembly can represent about 10 per cent of the world's population, 5 per cent of its gross national product, and less

—*Pix.*

U.N. observers—Questioning a villager in Greece.

than 5 per cent of the U.N. budget. The Soviet Union, for its part, may have been outraged at Security Council action in Laos, among many other things, but is pressing for Council intervention in the Dominican Republic. And its objections to the role played by the OAS, as a regional organization, would not necessarily apply to action by the Arab League against Israel or by the Organization of African Unity against the Portuguese territories and South Africa. In diplomacy, as in most other human affairs, much depends on whose ox is gored.

The fact is that while the United Nations has been able to adapt itself to the economic needs of a changing world, it has stagnated as a political institution. After twenty years it has not yet been able to define aggression, let alone devise an effective formula for meeting it. Meanwhile, everyone knows that aggressive tactics have shifted away from open invasion by visible armies to the many indirect and subtle techniques of infiltration, subversion, and blackmail together with the incitement or support of seemingly indigenous "wars of national liberation." The U.N.'s members have not effected a single change in the Charter until this year, when the Security Council is to be increased from eleven to fifteen members and the Economic and Social Council from eighteen to twenty-seven in order to reflect the fantastic multiplication of Asian and African nations, who now form more than half the U.N.'s membership. To seek a renewal of the organization's effectiveness in revocation of the big-power veto or a new formula of weighted voting in the General Assembly is to put the cart very much before the horse. The United Nations is not deadlocked because the great powers have the right of veto but because their views conflict so savagely and over so broad a range that the veto has become a tool of diplomacy rather than a final act of self-protection. In to-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

day's world, there could be no U.N. without the veto. And, under the Charter, there can be no Charter amendment without unanimous consent of the big five. As for some new scheme of voting in the Assembly, to provide a more even match between authority and responsibility, no one has yet come up with a workable, acceptable plan.

Nor is the problem one of universality. The U.N. seems to function neither better nor worse because Indonesia, the largest nation in Southeast Asia, has withdrawn. And it is highly debatable whether the seating of Communist China would add to its effectiveness in any way. That question could, in any case, be decided quickly by a two-thirds majority. The problem before the organization on its twentieth birthday is one of interpreting its mandate to fit a different world from that of 1945 rather than tampering with its structure.

LAST month this question was argued out once again in terms of arrears and Article 19, which punishes delinquents with the loss of their vote in the General Assembly. But the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, created in February to find some way out of the deadlock that froze the Assembly into complete political immobility, has been unable to do so. The Soviet Union still refuses to pay its assessments for past undertakings, like the Congo and UNEF. (It also refuses to pay certain distantly related items in the regular budget, like the U.N. Field Service and the U.N. Cemetery in Korea.) Moscow insists it has been illegally assessed—arguing that those activities not voted by the Security Council are void, while at the same time repudiating those endorsed by the Council about which the Kremlin has changed its mind. The Soviet Union demands that all future U.N. activities involving military forces be initiated and constantly reviewed in all their aspects by the Security Council, so that they may be vetoed either at the outset or at any point beyond. The United States, on the other hand, refuses to accept a Security Council monopoly on peacekeeping. Believing itself to be more naturally in harmony with the Charter, America is ready to take the risk of a "swirling majority" voting a peacekeeping operation against South Africa, for instance. The Assembly can do no more than recommend. Its vote in such a case would give the U.N.'s legal sanction only to the efforts of such nations as were willing and able to carry it out. The Soviet Union, of course, might be eager to oblige. But the world of the U.N. is in no way separate from the real world of political power. A situation in which the United States could not prevent a U.N. cloak from being thrown over a dangerous adventure is one in

which Washington would be impotent to begin with.

Perhaps the underlying difference between the American and Russian positions is that the United States is, in the broadest sense, a status quo power. Stable, strong, and satisfied, it wants no change to take place in the libertarian, mercantile framework that it has found so congenial. It is not interested in war of any kind. By contrast, the Soviet Union is a revolutionary power—strong, not very stable, and unsatisfied. And its internal tensions are rendered more acute by the colossal conflict with Red China for leadership of the world revolution. Soviet Russia is not interested in the Third World War, or in wars between states that could grow into it. In this sense, the realities of nuclear strategy are probably a more compelling assurance of peace than the U.N. Charter. But the Soviets are very much for "wars of national liberation" on their terms and, consequently, advocate only a selective exercise of the U.N.'s peacekeeping function—one that they could control.

So profound is this difference in outlook that the financial crisis that brought it to the surface might well split the U.N. beyond repair. Without any doubt, the robust Russian tactic of threatening the organization's destruction in case of defeat has intimidated the smaller nations into backing the Soviet case. Conversely, the well-known fact that one can oppose and deride the United States with impunity has neutralized the strongest American contention—that the smaller countries are the ones that really benefit from the principle of sovereign equality in the General Assembly. If they throw its Charter power of taxation out the window, the argument goes, by failing to apply Article 19 against the Communist bloc and France, all equally in arrears, then they deprive themselves of their one prerogative and demoralize the organization by bowing to brute pressure.

If the smaller countries at this stage of the game prefer the less heroic aspects of the U.N.'s nature, they have their reasons. Many of them consider its political role to be secondary to its work as a stimulus and clearinghouse for technical assistance and development aid. They tend to view the great East-West conflict between freedom and totalitarianism as a private feud of little relevance to their own poverty. Their struggle is for economic survival and their emotions are more easily mobilized against "colonialism." Politically, their main interest lies in the contacts which U.N. membership gives them and the protection from isolation, not to mention the share, however platonic, in international affairs.

It is another paradox in this whole confused picture that the United States at present really weighs the smaller countries' considerations more heavily than the ones that Washington has so emphatically advanced as its own. Given a choice between adhering to the principle of Article 19 at all costs and setting it aside for some future day, the United States has chosen the latter. When the nineteenth Assembly meets in September for a brief rump session, it will almost certainly not repeat the stalemate of last December. No one expects the Communist countries or France to have paid anything like their arrears by then. The American delegation or some other may therefore challenge their right to vote. But the challenge will be sidetracked at once by a procedural motion, which the United States will not seriously oppose. The nineteenth Assembly and the twentieth will thereupon go about their business in normal fashion.

VOLUNTARY contributions may then resolve the U.N.'s financial plight, and Article 19 will be a dead letter, giving all nations, including the United States, the freedom to pay only those assessments that they choose to pay. As for peacekeeping, if it can be assumed that countries so indifferent to one fundamental principle will stand up to Soviet tirades in other, more threatening circumstances, it may then follow that the U.N.'s peacekeeping capacity is left neither better nor worse than it has been all the while. The test on this count may come if the Soviets seek to press their advantage and compel the membership also to accept a Security Council monopoly on paramilitary action, or attempt in 1966 to revive the troika gambit when U Thant's term expires.

Being denied the gift of prophecy, purists will claim that compromise on the Article 19 issue may preserve the form of the U.N. but destroy its substance as man's great hope of rising above himself and fashioning this agency to keep the peace. Pragmatists will counter that the organization is caught in the storm now shaking the world, with the greatest necessity that of preserving it so that it may survive to be effective another day. Only history will tell which comes closer to the truth. Meanwhile, the preservation of peace will lie not with the United Nations but in the hands of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Peacekeeping

Continued from page 23

the Congo. It called for a federal system of government, a law defining the division of revenue between the central government and the provinces, currency unification, integration and unification of the army, exclusive Congolese representation abroad by the central government, representation of all political and provincial groups in the central government, and a general amnesty for political prisoners. A draft constitution for the Congo was prepared by U.N. experts. The Katanga secession finally came to an end a little more than one year after its theoretical end with Tshombe's signing of the Kitona Declaration.

THE prospect of this kind of political settlement would alter markedly the character and dimensions of the Vietnam military problem. A United Nations call for a cease-fire for the purpose of working out such a coalition should have a good chance of success. At the same time, the proposal should include the creation of a multinational U.N. force whose first task would be to enforce a ban on infiltration of arms and men from the north into South Vietnam. Under current conditions, the physical task of sealing the northern border appears one of appalling difficulty, but this assumes that it would be a purely military operation conducted in a major degree by a white Western power. It would be quite another matter for a force to patrol a border as the representative of the world community, against the backdrop of the kind of political settlement just described. This would not necessarily presuppose the affirmative endorsement by Hanoi of this course; it would be enough if Hanoi adopted a policy of avoiding active hostility to such a procedure—and it is not unrealistic to think this possible.

The strictly military changes obviously could not be carried out overnight. Since the border-crossing problem is what mainly gives the situation its international character, it would be appropriate that U.N. forces concentrate first on the sealing of the borders against infiltration. At the same time, as part of a cease-fire agreement, the United States could well agree to limit its personnel to several major bases for the time being. Although even this would certainly bring objections from some members of the U.N., it seems reasonable for the United States to maintain a sort of residual but temporarily inactive presence in the area during the transitional period, until it becomes apparent whether the plan is succeeding. At the same time, to be acceptable to the U.N. the proposal would undoubtedly have to call for a cessation of active American military participation in the internal pacification process. The maintenance of internal order and security would have to be the responsibility of the coalition government worked out under U.N. supervision, with as much U.N. participation as necessary to carry out the U.N. objective successfully. Under the most unfavorable assumptions, this might involve additional U.N. forces to assist in keeping internal order; but once the U.N. had taken this degree of responsibility, the use of further U.N. force to protect a settlement arrived at with the backing of the world community would probably raise no insuperable difficulties.

In estimating the degree of U.N. support for a proposal along these general lines, one may recall that the U.N. has never turned down this kind of peacekeeping job when asked. Its "failures" have rather been failures of members to ask its help or of affected states to allow it to take necessary actions. Moreover, in view of the growing alarm throughout the world over the prospect of large-scale war, and the widespread opposition to the unilateral actions of the United States, the initiation by the United States of a definite proposal in the U.N., recognizing the U.N.'s role and diminishing the probability of expanded war, might well be greeted with relief, at the minimum, and even with warm support from a number of members that are now suffering from an agonizing frustration in being allowed no part in dealing with an ominous development that may profoundly affect their security.

ANY proposals involving United Nations forces in South Vietnam assume consent by the government of South Vietnam. If it became convinced that the only available alternatives were the U.N. arrangement or the withdrawal of American aid, it would undoubtedly recognize the advantages of the former. Here again there is an instructive parallel in the Congo story. When disorder broke out in the Congo in July 1960, the Congolese government first requested military aid directly from the United States. If that aid had been granted, there would have been no need to appeal to the United Nations. But President Eisenhower's refusal to involve the United States unilaterally, combined with his referal of the Congolese government to the United Nations, left the Congo no choice but to invite the United Nations to its aid.

HAVING identified what might be an acceptable U.N. objective for South Vietnam, we now should set beside it the bedrock American objective to see whether our basic security and interests are adequately protected. Here we encounter a difficulty. The American objective has never been defined in other than general terms. Almost all recent statements, since the President's Johns Hopkins University speech, have stressed that our purpose is to bring about "negotiations." What is not revealed is what the negotiations are supposed to bring about. One thinks of those table games in which pieces are moved along a series of squares toward a final goal: Johns Hopkins speech, three squares forward; another coup d'etat in Saigon, two squares back; and at the very end the goal: "Negotiations." The idea created is that somehow if we reach the square marked "Negotiations" the game is won. But in a realistic game there are squares beyond "Negotiations." We might alight on one which reads: "Negotiations Fail, Go Back to Starting Point." Still further on lies the real goal, which must be described in terms of some kind of political settlement and regime that can survive without perpetual American military support.

If Americans would address their attention to this ultimate question, they might well realize that any arrangements serving the irreducible necessities of our security that are apt to be achieved in such final settlement can probably be more quickly and painlessly achieved by the U.N. procedures here sketched. We do not want South Vietnam's own independence destroyed from the outside. The plan attempts to meet this objective through the U.N. settlement and forces. We do not want South Vietnam to become a way station in the expansion of similar Communist encroachment in Southeast Asia. The presence of the U.N. in substantial strength in South Vietnam might be the best possible long-term assurance against such encroachment. Moreover, the United States would be in a position, with forces released from Vietnam, to give more effective aid to Thailand and other neighboring countries if necessary. And the United States would still control the sea and the air in the Southeast Asia sector.

The nearest thing to a long-range objective discernible in official American utterances is the statement that the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

South Vietnamese should be allowed to decide their own destiny and work out their own problems. This is precisely the objective of the U.N. plan here outlined. In the broadest sense, then, these proposals would represent not retreat or departure from long-range American policy, but an effective way to achieve continuity in that policy.

These thoughts about the future potential of the U.N. in peacekeeping, with Vietnam as the principal proving ground, are tendered not as a definitive plan, but as a stimulus to a much-needed discussion both in and out of government. Difficulties abound in any such course, but the distressing thing is that very little research, effort, or exchange of views seems to be going on to find ways of surmounting the difficulties, to refine the proposals, to test their political and practical feasibility, and eventually to achieve the necessary combination of effectiveness and acceptability.

IT may be that a propitious moment for seeking U.N. aid is approaching. The swinging door of world opinion has been swinging against U.S. foreign policy very sharply for the past year or two; it might conceivably be starting to swing the other way. The reason is that in a succession of attempts to bring about negotiations in the Vietnam matter, the United States has been relatively agreeable, while Hanoi and Peking have been almost ostentatiously rude in rebuffing all such approaches. These approaches include President Johnson's repeated offers of unconditional negotiation; the French suggestion for reconvening the Geneva Conference; the plea of seventeen nonaligned chiefs of state for negotiations; the Soviet proposal for a Cambodian conference; U Thant's offer to visit Hanoi and Peking for exploratory talks; the British effort to send former Foreign Minister Gordon Walker for similar consultations; Prime Minister Shastri's proposal for a cease-fire monitored by an African and Asian force; and Prime Minister Wilson's Commonwealth mission, immediately branded a "hoax" by Premier Chou En-lai.

It would not be surprising, somewhere along the line, if the impression began to be created that, when it comes to willingness to negotiate, it is the United States that is being reasonable, while it is Hanoi and Peking that are arbitrarily preventing any prospect of a peaceful solution. Obtaining satisfactory U.N. action will not be easy; we will have to work at it, and this means a great deal of research, ingenuity, political maneuvering, bargaining, and persuasion; but, particularly in the light of the possibility of a more sympathetic atmosphere, and in view of the enormous stake of all humanity in the outcome, the prospects of success well justify the effort.

On the Fringe

Continued from page 40

worked on several starts. There was one I worked on for six months. I did 50,000 words before I put it on ice. Too many gaps.

Anyway, I began to read up on Theodore Dreiser. I wasn't too excited when I began. You never know how a subject will hit until you get deep into it. I became hooked on Dreiser. He was a thorny, unreasonable, courageous, pigheaded person. I have a weakness for controversial people. I have no doubt whatsoever of his greatness. He was one of those rare geniuses with many and maybe more faults than most geniuses.

My wife and I spent ten weeks at the University of Pennsylvania. They don't even know how many letters they have in their Dreiser collection. I think they must have 20,000 that he wrote, all in chronological order, plus an equal number that were sent to him, filed in alphabetical order under the sender's name. They also have original manuscripts.

My wife, Dorothy, ought to get a by-line for her work. She would copy Dreiser letters in shorthand, then transcribe them back at the hotel. Also she would type what I wrote. She's the systematic one in the family. A Biz Ad. major. She set me up with four loose-leaf notebooks of Dreiser letters, indexed both chronologically and alphabetically. Other notes were put on file cards, three boxes full, all in chronological order. She's a life-saver.

From the U. of P. we went to the University of Indiana, where there is also a Dreiser collection, including the original manuscript of *Sister Carrie*. We spent a week there, then went to California. Some of Dreiser's friends are still living there. More letters and clippings in libraries out there.

One delicate situation. Some of Dreiser's women friends are still alive. I had to use fictitious names for them.

We traveled 12,500 miles for the book, did two years of research and roughly one year of writing. I suppose you have to be a little crazy to do that amount of work. It arises from a lack of confidence. I over-research to put myself on sure ground.

James Michener *(The Source)*: We were in Israel fifteen months for research on *The Source*. Somebody said that if my wife had run for mayor of Haifa she would have made it; that's because we attended so many family functions there.

I like to be abroad or out of the way when a book of mine comes out. Publication is a very emotionalized experience and I'd just as soon miss it. Besides, it comes so long after the writing of the book that I can hardly be wildly interested. No, I don't see the reviews of my books right way. I'm usually so deep into my next book that good notices would be bad for me and bad notices would be absolutely destructive. I usually read the notices about a year after publication. Not that notices aren't very important to me. They are. I learn from them, but I want to be able to take them on my terms, not on theirs.

When you sit down to write a book, it is an act of enormous arrogance. You are assuming there is a need for the book. Well, no one feels a need for your new book. I can think of very few writers to whose new books the phrase "long-awaited" applies. Maybe to their agents, but not to anyone else.

Tales of the South Pacific was published in silence on toilet paper. It was a long year until the Pulitzer Prize. The musical comedy gave it its third cycle of life. The book was never a best-seller, which is an ideal circumstance for the beginning writer. By now it has sold around three million in paperback; I think *Hawaii* is over four million.

When you have something happen to you like the musical comedy *South Pacific* coming along and providing you with an accidental income, money you haven't earned, you are obligated to pass it around. One must be generous to beginning writers. *South Pacific* has made it easier for me to do it.

I have a guilt complex about not working more directly than I do with young writers, but there are human limitations. My wife and I have put our excess funds—when we have a good year—into paintings by young artists. I have helped to get young writers published, but it is easier—one doesn't use conflicting emotions—to help a painter than a writer. I simply don't have the eyesight to read an enormous amount of manuscripts.

I know that many writers are switching to paperback publishers for tremendous royalty deals, but not me. I'm staying with my hardback publisher and giving him a substantial portion of my paperback rights which he, in effect, will lose on the early books of young writers. Publishers lose money on three-quarters of the younger writers. The minute Random House no longer publishes new writers, I will lose interest in them very quickly. It's very important to have a fresh group of novelists coming along every decade.

If a young writer came to me for a formula with which to hit the Book-of-the-Month Club and I gave him the structure of *Hawaii* or *The Source*, it would sound like sheer idiocy. In the abstract, who the hell needs *Hawaii* with its bizarre construction—a new set of characters every 100 pages?

—HASKEL FRANKEL.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS are accepted for things wanted or unwanted; personal services; literary or publishing offers, unclassified elsewhere; miscellaneous items appealing to a special intelligent clientele; jobs wanted; houses or camps for rent; tutoring; ideas for sale. All advertisements must be consonant with the character of Saturday Review. Rates for a single insertion, 70¢ per word, 10-word minimum. Count 2 extra words for Box and Numbers. Rates for multiple insertions:—52 times 62¢ per word each insertion; 26 times 64¢ per word each insertion; 13 times 66¢ per word each insertion; 6 times 68¢ per word each insertion. Full payment must be received eighteen days before publication. We forward all mail received in answer to box numbers and submit postage bills periodically. Mail to be called for at this office will be held 30 days only. Address Classified Department, Saturday Review, 380 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York.

LITERARY SERVICES

MANUSCRIPT TYPING. Also tapes. Ambassador Office Service, 10 East 49th Street, NYC 10017. PLaza 5-1127.

INDEXING. MANUSCRIPT TYPING. copyreading, proofreading. Redactory Services, 2314 Main, Houston, Texas.

RESEARCH, writing, translations, expertly done. All topics. Reasonable. Professional author. Box N-718.

FREE-LANCE WRITING. Technical, Promotional, News, Profiles, Features. Telephone: 914-225-3442, Box N-830.

SOCIAL EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH. Washington based. Research administration, writing, proposals prepared, advice on government, foundation support. Confidential. Box N-784.

FREELANCE is a new magazine for the free-lance writer. Every big issue is filled with fascinating articles, latest market news, and the lowdown on agents, courses, and literary consultants. Sample 35¢. $5.00 yearly. Three month trial subscription $1.00. Freelance, Hester Heights, Russellville, Alabama 35653.

BOOKS

CLEARANCE PRICES New York Book, 4 West 43rd Street, NYC. Free catalogues Paperbacks, etc.

SEND AUTHORS' NAMES and titles of out-of-print books wanted. You will get results. Kendall Gaisser, Booksellers, 1242 Broadway, Toledo, Ohio 43609.

BRITISH BOOK BARGAINS—all subjects. Catalogues free. Wants solicited. Transbooks, Matawan 2, New Jersey.

SAVE TO 84% on publishers' overstocks. Free catalogue. Reader's Service, 5435 Upland Way, Philadelphia 31, Pa.

BOOKS ABOUT ASIA — ORIENTALIA. 11 East 12th Street, New York 3, New York. Free Catalogue S.

THE PAPERBACK SELLER—"If it's bound in paper—we're bound to have it." 148 Front Street, Hempstead, N.Y. We pay postage.

FRENCH, SPANISH, ITALIAN books. The Mail Order Library, 132 West 43rd Street, NYC 36.

FRENCH BOOKS

THE FRENCH BOOKSHOP. 700 Madison Avenue (62nd Street), NYC 21, where French books are sold exclusively. Mail order catalogue 70¢.

BOOKPLATES

FREE CATALOGUE—Many beautiful designs. Special designing too. Address BOOKPLATES, Yellow Springs 7, Ohio.

RECORD MART

BRUCKNER: SYMPHONY #5, Eugen Jochum, Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra, documentary recording at Ottobeuren Abbey, de luxe packaging, 2 German Philips LPs, mono $9.50, stereo $11.50. Bremen House, 218 East 86th Street, NYC 10028, REgent 4-2500.

OUT-OF-PRINT

BOOKS FOUND. Free search—quick action. Old Colony Bookfinders, 143 West Newton Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02118.

NAME THE BOOK — We'll get it. CHICAGO BOOK MART, Chicago Heights, Illinois.

LOCATE BOOKS! Florida Booksearchers, Box 15070, Orlando, Florida 32808.

TRANSATLANTIC BOOKSEARCHERS. Wants actively sought in England and America. Matawan, New Jersey.

FREE SEARCH SERVICE. Any book located. Thousands successfully found. Paul Revere Bookshop, Box 194, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

YOU NAME IT—WE FIND IT. Satisfaction guaranteed. INTERNATIONAL BOOKFINDERS, Box 3003-S, Beverly Hills, California.

USED BOOK SALE! Giant list 35¢. Yankee Bookshop, Whitman, Massachusetts.

BAER'S BOOK SEARCH. 2856 Woodlawn Terrace, Memphis, Tennessee 38127. Book finders.

CAN'T GET IT, WE'LL FIND IT and fast. Free experienced service reaches 5,500 dealers weekly, if not in our large stock. Beacon Hill Booksellers, 84 Charles Street, Boston 14, Massachusetts.

BACK NUMBERS

AMERICAN HERITAGE Magazines: Volumes I (1949) through XV (1964). All. Sold-Bought. Issues. Runs. Also HORIZON Magazines. Reid-Books, 1404 East 18th Street, Brooklyn, New York 11230.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

FRENCH, ITALIAN, SPANISH, POLISH periodicals, newspapers. European Publishers Representatives, 132 West 43rd Street, NYC 36.

SUBSCRIPTIONS to German, Austrian, Swiss magazines make thoughtful gifts. Request catalogue. German News Company, 200 East 86th Street, NYC 28. BUtterfield 8-5500.

ART

ORIGINAL OIL PAINTINGS, $5 to $75, none higher. Exciting works by talented artists just beginning to achieve recognition. Unbelievable bargains in America's Famous Galleries of Discovery. ARTS INTERNATIONAL GALLERIES: New York: 1066 Madison; Chicago: 70 East Walton; Cleveland: 13122 Shaker Square; Boston: 24 Providence; Denver: 515 16th Street; Detroit: 24 West Adams; Minneapolis: 38 South 6th; Santa Monica: 109 Broadway; St. Louis: 8207 Clayton.

MUSIC

LAKE PLACID MUSIC FESTIVAL, Jose Echaniz, music director. Four Tuesday evening concerts: August 10th, 17th and 24th: Lake Placid Festival Trio. August 24th: Amparo and Jose Iturbi. Three Saturday afternoon concerts: August 14th, 21st and 28th: Young American Artists. Write: Secretary, Lake Placid Music Association, Box 949, Lake Placid, N.Y.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

RECORDERS—FINEST MAKES. Largest music selections. Free catalogue. RECORDER CENTER, Amenia, N.Y.

IF IT'S RELIABLE and sounds beautiful, it's a Sabathil harpsichord from Vancouver, Canada.

HARPSICHORD KIT. Build a replica of an antique instrument. Full size: 2' x 8', 1' x 4', FF-g'''. Designed by Frank Hubbard. Single-manual, $550; double-manual, $750. For brochure, write Frank Hubbard, 185a Lyman Street, Waltham, Massachusetts.

SCHOOLS

HOUSATONIC RIVER SCHOOL, Glendale, Massachusetts. A small, coeducational, boarding high school geared specifically to the under-motivated student for whom the traditional school system has proved unsatisfactory. Applicants must be under 16.

GREEN VALLEY—A small, tutorial school for superior students and gifted underachievers. Orange City 5, Florida.

COLLEGES

PEACE CORPS EXPERIENCE or a college education. Now choose both in the Franconia College Peace Corps Program. Franconia College in the heart of the White Mountains is a two year coeducational liberal arts college offering transfer and degree programs. Integrated core curriculum in the humanities, small classes, work program, community government. Write to Director of Admissions, Box S, Franconia, N.H.

COLLEGE DROP-OUTS: We concentrate on the educational redevelopment of selected students, including poor achievers, with unrealized learning potential. Educational Development Center, 23 Adelbert Street, Berea, Ohio 44017.

ADULT EDUCATION

COLLEGE COURSES AT HOME on long-playing records developed by world-famous teachers. Work toward a college degree by taking first year course now. Send for free brochure. Institute for University Studies, Inc., Dept. 12, 76 Lincoln Avenue, Bergenfield, N.J. 07621.

FOR THE GOURMET

SELL'S FAMOUS LIVER PATE. Delightful canapes, sandwiches, salads, dips. Request at finest shops. Norton Company, New Milford, Connecticut.

GOURMET FOODS for your table and gift giving. Exquisite selections. Request mail order catalogue. Bremen House, 218 East 86th Street, NYC 28, REgent 4-2500.

PERSONALS

OLD LETTERS WANTED. Authors, scientists, military leaders, musicians, American statesmen, etc. Collections and important single items bought and sold. Especially interested in literary material. Catalogues issued. Walter R. Benjamin Autographs, 790 Madison Avenue (at 67th), New York 10021. REgent 4-3902. Established 1887.

COVERED WAGON MOVERS. Competent, experienced, insured. For estimate call Jerry McGruddy, ALgonquin 5-1788 NYC.

RECORDERS (FLUTES) KUENG SWISS import. Coolsma, Purcell, $5, $8.95 up! Student Special. Corelli, $3.95; Recorder Music Methods, Guitar Music. Free Catalogue, 7-5-D, HARGAIL, 157 West 57th Street, NYC.

BUDDHA LOVED THEM. Now shipping fresh Florida Mangoes. Exotic tropical fruit. Send for free brochure. Airport Fruit Shipper, Miami International Airport, Miami, Florida 33159.

FRESH FLOWER PERFUMES, hand blended, of exquisite fidelity to living flowers. Circular. May Cove, Mathews, Virginia 23109.

FOOT COMFORT. Deerskin moccasins, slippers, casuals, etc. Men's hats, vests, shirts. Free catalogue SR. Cottage Crafts, Rutland, Vermont 05701.

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. *Employers provide transportation and liberal vacations.* Comprehensive new booklet, "Guide to Employment Abroad," covers all possibilities in sixty countries, all occupations. Includes exclusive "Directory of American Companies Overseas." Special reports on summer jobs, Government careers overseas, international organizations, medical work, teaching, librarian, secretarial positions. English language newspapers overseas, social work. Highly recommended. Only $1.00. Airmail 30¢ extra. Satisfaction guaranteed or payment refunded. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-X, East Islip, New York.

NEUPERT HARPSICHORDS. CLAVICHORDS. Oldest, finest. Free catalogue. MAGNAMUSIC, Sharon, Connecticut.

CRYSTAL CANDELABRA and chandelier parts, prisms, bobeches, hurricane globes, arms, etc. repaired or replaced. Hess Repairs, 168 East 33rd Street, NYC 10016.

(Continued on page 64)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PERSONALS

(Continued from page 63)

WRITER-EDITOR, male, nationally published, with solid academic background, seeks assignments in speech writing, rewriting, corporate PR. Box K-329.

FORMER ADVERTISING REPRESENTATIVE (10 years) currently in travel agency (all phases of domestic and F.I.T.) desirous excellent opportunity in either field or combination of both. Box N-732.

FREE TRAVEL BOOKLET—simplifies trip planning to any of 51 cities around the world. See page 11.

HAND LOOMED COCKTAIL NAPKINS from Guatemala. Clifford's, 325 Hampton Lane, Miami, Florida.

TOP CASH PAID for letters and documents of famous people. Immediate decision! Immediate payment. Ask TODAY for free brochure. "How To Sell Your Autographs." Catalogues issued. Charles R. Hamilton, 25 East 53rd Street, NYC 22. ELdorado 5-3464-5-6.

SEEKING PEACE OF MIND? Free home study course in the Catholic Religion. PAULIST FATHERS INSTRUCTION CENTER, Dept. S, 21 East Van Buren, Chicago, Illinois.

GEMINI COLOR MOVIES—8mm 50 ft. space walk, $4.49; 100 ft. launch, space walk, recovery, $7.69. Spacefilms, Suite 101e, 6087 Sunset, Hollywood, California.

MARK HOPKINS COLLEGE, Brattleboro, Vermont, interested in eager, creative, emotionally-mature students for entrance to unique new school. Innate intelligence, yearning for learning, not Board scores, basis for consideration.

CAPES, COATS—Ready-made, made to order, and vast yardage of personally selected Irish handwoven tweeds to make your own. Carol Brown, Putney, Vermont 05346.

HARPSICHORD—Same as owned by Philadelphia Orchestra and RCA VICTOR. In kit form for home workshop assembly, $150. Clavichord kit, $100. Free brochure. Write Zuckermann Harpsichords, Dept. S, 115 Christopher Street, NYC 14.

FASCINATING MAGAZINE for book collectors! Information free. TBA, Webster 31, New York.

DEDICATED TO EXCELLENCE in Antique Clock Restoring. The British Clockmaker, Joseph Bates, CMBHI, Newfane, Vermont. 802-365-7770.

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN, at a fraction of their American retail prices. $11.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order. Money-back guarantee. Write for illustrated catalogue. Steven Williams, Sr., Ltd., 37 East Willow Street, Millburn, New Jersey.

DISTINCTIVE THEATRE near the finest beaches on the northeastern seaboard. Pinter, Shaw, Beckett, Jones, Williams, Albee, Ionesco, Behan, Moliere, Jonson. University of Rhode Island Summer Theatre Festival, Kingston, R.I. July 1st through August 29th. Adrian Hall, Artistic Director.

YOUR GLOBAL ADVENTURE. Largest journal of actual positions for teachers, administrators, students, librarians, scientists, etc. NOT just a list—includes specific U.S. and foreign positions open now. Includes summer jobs. Approved since 1952. RUSH $1.00 for current issue. Yearly membership $7.00. Manual, "Teaching Opportunities in Hawaii," $1.00 or FREE, with yearly. Advancement Institute, 171 North 9th Street, Brooklyn 11, N.Y.

"MEADOWLARK": A place for peace, recovery and renewal. Brochure: Friendly Hills Fellowship, Hemet, California.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION YEAR: ICY Postals, Correspondence Cards, 40 for $1.00; 300 for $5.00. The Friendly World, G.P.O. Box 1004, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11202.

RESEARCH, writing, translations, expertly done. All topics. Reasonable. Professional author. Alex White, Allenhurst, N.J.

UPTON SINCLAIR professional photographs for sale. Latest. John Dryer, Camarillo, California.

PERSONALS

AM LOOKING FOR RESPONSIBLE PARTY to drive 1961 Volkswagen from New York to Los Angeles in late August or early September. Box N-833.

HAVE YOU AN OPENING for a hard-working female advertising executive? I have all round experience in all phases of marketing and promotion, all media. I am conscientious and can do a good job for you. New York. Box N-746.

ESTABLISHED COMPOSER seeks professional book and/or lyric collaborator for musical. New York area. Box N-832.

REFINED, CAPABLE widow with medical and organizational background seeks live-in, household-manager-secretary position with flexible, intelligent establishment, due to tax bind. Box N-788.

SECRETARY, female, 29, B.A., 5 years experience, seeks travel. Box N-797.

USEFUL, DECORATIVE L.A. lady needs part-time work. Intelligent, versatile, resourceful, imaginative. Box N-811.

FRENCH TUTOR, female, Middlebury M.A., experienced. 212-RE 7-4730 after 6 p.m.

EDITOR SEEKS free-lance assignments. Excellent work, reasonable rates. Pick-up and delivery NYC area. Resume and references upon request. Box N-819.

WRITER, WIFE, INFANT seek minimal workday. German, music, literature, philosophy. Degrees. Teaching experience elementary, secondary. Housekeeping, secretarial, research, manual labor. Anywhere. Box N-815.

B.A. SOCIOLOGY, female, 22, experience social work settings. Knowledge research methods. Good typing, office experience. Knowledge Spanish. Wants experience for future graduate study. NYC area preferred. Box N-829.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

UNIVERSITY PRESIDENT. The Memorial University of Newfoundland (Chancellor: The Right Hon. Lord Thomson of Fleet) invites applications for the position of President and Vice-Chancellor of the University. Appointment is to be for the commencement of the 1965-66 academic year on September 1st, 1965, or as soon thereafter as possible. Yearly salary: $30,000 (Canadian funds). House allowance. Pension: 2/3 of salary, effective upon retirement as a result of reaching retirement age (65) or permanent physical or mental incapacity. Memorial, the sole university in Newfoundland, is built on a spacious campus in the principal suburb of the Capital City of St. John's. The new campus, consisting presently of nine buildings, was opened in 1961 by the late Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. Two large additional academic buildings are to open in 1966. Other buildings are to be erected in quick succession. Student body: 1950—400; 1955—700; 1960—1,400; 1965—3,500; 1970—6,000 (estimated); Faculty: 170. The University offers its President and Vice-Chancellor a challenging opportunity and a position of prestige in the community of Newfoundland and influence in the Canadian nation. He will be expected, as Chief Executive Officer, to develop what is already a vigorous university into one of the leading institutions of Canada. Interested persons may obtain additional information by writing to the undersigned. Applications (which will be treated in strict confidence) should be made in writing before September 1st, enclosing a curriculum vitae together with copies of academic qualifications and references. Personal interviews will be arranged. Applications should be addressed: The Chairman, Board of Regents, Memorial University of Newfoundland, c/o The Minister of Education, Confederation Building, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada.

WRITER—Top-level speech writer for blue-ribbon New York corporation. Current business, economic and social topics. Knowledge of economics highly desirable. Background in newspaper work or teaching preferred. Salary $10,000-$12,000. Send resume and samples of work to Box N-737.

LIBRARIAN: For Junior High and Elementary Schools. Must meet State Certification qualifications (Elementary or High School Certificate with 16 hours of Library Science, or have 32 hours of Library Science for Library Science Special Certificate). Contact: Superintendent of Schools, District #63, 8320 Ballard Road, Niles 48, Illinois.

WANTED: Executive hostess for small luxury beauty resort in southern California. 40-60 year old professional lady, retired physician or college teacher who enjoys people. Salary equal to ability. Live in. Send particulars to Box N-471.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

PUBLIC RELATIONS WRITER—Major New York City corporation seeks career man for full-scale public relations program. Should have demonstrated writing ability. Newspaper experience or public relations training helpful. Fine opportunities in press, community and stockholder relationships, editorial services and employee communications. Salary $8,500-$12,000, depending on qualifications. Box N-740.

COLLEGE GRADUATES—Interesting, individualized skill teaching. Small groups. Background, Liberal Arts or Education. Single. Enjoy working independently. Travel, with N. Y. City base. Reply promptly. Interviews, New York area. Box M-846 Saturday Review.

MANAGING EDITOR. Experience in general editorial supervision and reference book work is required. NYC. Box N-769.

HOUSES AVAILABLE

For Sale

SOUTHERN VERMONT. Farms, magnificent views. Acreage. Houses. Harold W. Ross, Realtor. Bondville. 802-824-6000.

LARGE, PRE-REVOLUTIONARY HOME on 16 acres with brook. Discreetly modernized, museum quality rooms preserving old pine boards, windows and hardware. 8 fireplaces. Exceptional find at $35,000. The Kramer Agency, Great Barrington, Massachusetts.

39-FOOT GEODESIC DOMES in Old Lyme and Woodstock. 2-3 bedrooms or bedroom and studio. 3-5 secluded acres. $13,500. 212-AL 5-9292.

LONG BRANCH, N.J. Where Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Wilson summered. But you can live all year 'round. Air-conditioned spacious homes on the Shrewsbury River near the ocean and Garden State Parkway. From $19,500. Shrewsbury Shores, Atlantic Avenue, Long Branch. 201-542-9102. Write for brochure: Conrad, P.O. Box 211, Edison, N.J.

DORSET, VERMONT. Newly constructed split level country home. 4 bedrooms, 2 baths. Brook. $26,500. Dorset Real Estate Co.

OSSINING, N.Y. Artists and writers love this modernized gatehouse in wooded area five minutes from Harmon Station. 3 bedrooms, 2 baths, dining room with picture windows, living room with fireplace, beamed ceiling, studio, all-electric kitchen with bar, laundry room, carport. $20,000. $220 taxes. If you are looking for Splits or Cods, don't apply to Owner. 914-WI 1-4371.

DAVIS, CALIFORNIA—$7,000 income from elegant, Mediterranean, university recommended student housing. Principals only. Box 164, Lagunitas, California.

CAPE COD HOUSE, Calais, Vermont, circa 1790. Unique, unspoiled. Mainly restored. Year round living. Write Mrs. R. D. Curtis, RFD 2, Plainfield, Vermont 05667. Phone: 802-466-8806.

For Rent—Furnished

MAUI, HAWAII. Modern 4 bedroom beach house just redecorated, perfect for 2-3 vacationing couples. Coconut palm acreage, near shopping and airport. $500 monthly. **JUST COMPLETED** Tahitian style cottage. Bedroom, living, kitchen, bath, large lanai. $250 monthly. Victor Martin, 1301 Harper, Detroit, Michigan 48211.

TWO HOURS NYC. Summer, fall rental. Attractive cabin. 3 bedrooms, living room, fireplace, electric kitchen. On private lake in 220 acres of Connecticut woods. Through Thanksgiving, $500. 914-WH 6-9382.

MALIBU, CALIFORNIA—Charming two-story house. Private beach. Box N-806.

For Summer Rental

BARN IN HAMLET, Van Hornesville, N.Y. overlooking millpond. Enormous, comfortable, elegant, peaceful. $75 weekly. Phone 617-259-9046.

HOUSE TO SHARE

WIDOW, ACTIVE, brink retirement, seeking congenial similar (or couple) share attractive upstate N.Y. home. Box N-817.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOUSE WANTED

CONNECTICUT SHORE—Old Lyme area. Small house, minimum year. Mrs. Benet, 73 Jane Street, NYC 10014. 212-AL 5-9148.

HOUSES FOR EXCHANGE

HOLIDAY HOME EXCHANGE BUREAU will arrange between reputable approved people. Write Box 555, Grants, New Mexico.

APARTMENT AVAILABLE

For Rent—Unfurnished

MANHATTAN, Stuyvesant Town area. New building, 3½ rooms—30' living room, bedroom, kitchen, 4 walk-in closets. 2 air conditioners, dishwasher—free gas. Convenient all transportation. Available for sublet—$157 monthly. Box N-796.

PROPERTY FOR SALE

BEAUTIFUL VERMONT. A few well-chosen locations bordering small highland lake. Magnificent views. Ideal for four seasons or year-round homes. J. H. Macleod, Wallingford, Vermont.

MARTHA'S VINEYARD—Unique 5 acre setting. Unparalleled views of ocean. Private beach, tennis. SR Box N-734.

NORTHERN VERMONT. Tree farmers again offer incidentally acquired houses, lots near lakes, brooks and skiing; timber tracts for recreation and investment. For Brochure write Box M-831.

MAINE—Wooded acreage starting as low as $10.00 per acre—old farms, shore property, retirement homes, anything in Real Estate. Write to "Mr. Real Estate," Clyde I. Barrows, Franklin Realty Co., Farmington, Maine. Telephone: 207-778-2852.

SUMMIT, N.J.—*Quality lot bordering county reservation.* Over 16,000 sq. ft. Utilities. New York commuting. Owner adjacent, seeks neighbors with quiet humours. $20,500. 201-273-7121, Box N-821.

BERKSHIRE AREA. 3 to 10 acre homesites near Tanglewood, ski areas. 30 mile views, splendid seclusion, beautiful all seasons. Brochure. Overlook, Hillsdale, N.Y. 12529.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

FREE BOOKLET, "990 Successful, Little-Known Businesses." Work home! Plymouth 828-G, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11218.

CAMPS

NO FRILLS. Full $700 worth: Music, Dance, Drama, Fine Arts, Sports (Coed 6-16). Appel Farm Art & Music Center, Elmer 22, New Jersey.

CHILDREN'S GRADE "A" CAMP, coed, one to four weeks. Moderate fees. Box N-838.

VACATIONS

MIDSUMMER DAY'S DREAM (for young adventurers, 4 to 12). While your parents golf, swim, sun and relax at luxurious Adventure Inn on subtropical Hilton Head Island, S.C., go adventuring with our Youth Activities Director. Attend crabbing parties, cookouts on the beach, hikes along nature trails, exploring plantation ruins. Learn a new craft or swim stroke. Family Vacation Plan includes free day-long supervision for children, 6 days, 5 nights, double room on ocean, breakfasts and dinners, 2 adults, $132 plus minimum charge for children. Write The Adventure Inn, Box 15, Hilton Head Island, S.C., for brochure and rates. Or call 803-785-3372.

PICTURE-BOOK VILLAGE off beaten path. Relaxing historic Inn. Small-town events, country auctions. Pool. 5 acres grounds, brook. Folder. The Tavern, Grafton, Vermont.

SUITS US FARM—for small fry and their parents. Baby animals for cuddling, heated pool, tennis, luscious food, modern facilities. Weekly, adults $45, children $30. Alexander Rabeler, Bovina Center, N.Y.

VACATIONS

FLOOD BROOK HOUSE, Vermont, Route 11, midway between Peru and Londonderry. Cool, 1,600'—near theaters, concerts, antiquing, golf, hiking, fishing, swimming. $10 a day with dinner and breakfast (most people prefer lunch out). Come and try us—$6.50 overnight with a "real" breakfast, $5.00 without meals. Housekeeping apartment available. Gertrude and Robert Roessle. 802-824-5918.

SWISS RESORT. AAA. Nature, Peace, Beauty. Modern comfort; sports; Swiss cuisine; excellent library. Snowvillage Lodge, Snowville, N.H. 03877. Tel. 603-447-2818.

PEACE—BEAUTIFUL NATURE—no TV, old-world charm, individualized meals, five guests. "House on the Hill," Worcester, N.Y. 607-EX 7-6218.

TIRED? Come to the tropical, fully modern, Matecumbe Resort Motel, Florida Keys. Box 203B, Islamorada, Florida.

MUSIC AND ART LOVERS—Stay at Orchard House in the Berkshires. $6 single, $10 double. Weekly rates. Tyringham, Massachusetts.

LAKE MICHIGAN VACATION ESTATE, concerts, resident artist, cottages, apartments, studios: 1,000' beach, pools, tennis, children's program. May-September. Sleepy Hollow, South Haven, Michigan.

THE YODLER—Golf, music, theater, heated pool, rooms, chalets. Stowe, Vermont.

COLONIAL CHARM midst wooded Litchfield Hills. Casual atmosphere—Luscious Food—Pool—Summer Theater and Auctions: Golf, Riding nearby. Mary Fisher, Bantam, Connecticut. 203-567-9127.

HOTEL PLAYA MAZATLAN. Beautiful, safe, tropical beach, quiet resort, best international cuisine and service. Summer Rates. Write for information: Mazatlan, Sinaloa, Mexico.

THE IMPROBABLE INN for artists (and compatible personnel). Lodging, studios, one-world cuisine. $56 weekly. Bay Street Studio 333, Boothbay Harbor, Maine. Brochure!

HIGHEST EASTERN RANCH adjoining magnificent Great Smokies National Park. Unlimited riding, pack-trips, other activities. Fine cuisine, informal atmosphere. Reservations requested. Cataloochee Ranch, Waynesville, North Carolina.

BLUEBERRY HILL! BLUEBERRIES! Nothing whatever to do. Lucullan food. The Mastertons, Brandon, Vermont.

VACATION at The Cliff House & Motels. Quiet. Restful. Informal. Dining Room. Cocktails. Heated Swimming Pool. Golf. May 28th to October 17th. Ogunquit 5, Maine.

CHAITS. Modern, Informal. Integrated. Art Classes. Swimming, Tennis, Folk Dancing, Day Camp. Accord 5, N.Y. Telephone 914-626-7373.

QUIET SEASIDE ROOMS with complete breakfasts. Red Inn, Provincetown, Massachusetts.

IN A RUT? Loafer's paradise! No honeymooners, teenagers. Mile to Pocono Playhouse. Pool, lake, lounge, dining room. WOODSIDE, Cresco, Pennsylvania.

SERENE, SECLUDED, HILLTOP-HIGH, one of Vermont's finest inns: stately spruce, rolling meadows, distant views from a breezy terrace; ideal for sitting and sunning, reading and writing. Marlboro Music, golf, tennis, swimming and riding nearby. Spacious lounges and rooms; imaginative cuisine; friendly, informal atmosphere. From $55 weekly, American. The North Wind, Wilmington, Vermont. Jack and Marylou Taylor.

RELAX. Enjoy your vacation—quiet, unspoiled land and waters of Maryland's eastern shore. Colonial charm, finest food. The Pasadena, Royal Oak, Maryland.

SAN FRANCISCO ON A BUDGET? Charming, centrally located. Hotel Beresford, 635 Sutter Street.

STEPHANIE AND PHILIP BARBER invite you to vacation luxuriously, calmly, actively, lazily, musically, flexibly at WHEATLEIGH in Lenox, Massachusetts, where a countess once dwelled. Do write—we'll send the Wheatleigh, the jazz, the folk, the Tanglewood folders, yes.

WINDY HILL, RD, Box 160, Walden, N.Y. Records, books, lake. Informal. Telephone: 914-562-1232.

TANGLEWOOD, JACOB'S PILLOW—Shadowood Inn, The Rosenbergs, Lenox, Massachusetts, Phone 413-637-9737. Congenial, literate, informal atmosphere. Jewish-American cuisine. Rates reasonable. Brochure and rates upon request.

VACATIONS

MANHATTAN SPECIAL VACATION WEEK—Theaters, Hotel, World's Fair, Sightseeing, etc., $85. Write SCHOLA, 353 West 57th, NYC 10019.

ADVENTURE! WILDERNESS EXPEDITIONS. Solitude, beauty, avolation. Box 1012B, Evergreen, Colorado.

CRESTWOOD, on a wooded knoll overlooking Peconic Bay. *Fishing, Boating, Bathing, Excellent Continental Cuisine.* Open through September. Adele B. Posner. Nassau Point, Peconic, L.I., N.Y. 516-PE 4-9092.

YOU'LL LIKE Seton Inn Spa on Lakewood, N.J. golf course. Only 40 guests. Informal. Pool, free golf midweek, free massage. Dietician, diet optional. Air-conditioned. Direct phone: 212-WO 2-4360.

DOWN EAST VACATION. Lenz's Housekeeping Cottages. Folder. Waldoboro, Maine.

RECREATE AT RAINBOW LODGE, Mt. Tremper, N.Y. Books and brooks. Deluscious food. Filtered pool. Private baths. Near Woodstock. 914-688-7761.

UNIQUE DEEP-WOODS LAKESIDE HIDEAWAY near Tanglewood. Rustic lodge, cottages, honeymoon cabins, outdoor music, unorganized activities, informal serenity. CHANTERWOOD, Lee, Massachusetts.

GREEN SHADOWS INN. Old Lyme, Connecticut. Quiet, country living. Rooms and cottages.

WINDHAM HILL FARM. West Townshend, Vermont. Quiet country inn—books—music—good food. Folder. Phone area: 802-874-5951.

TRAVEL

GOING ABROAD?—Store your car safely in New York. Indoors, insured, inexpensive. Newbold Garage, 2000 Westchester Avenue, Bronx 62, N.Y. TAlmadge 2-9336.

SAIL AWAY on SHENANDOAH. 5 glorious days of romantic adventure along the warm Southern New England coast. Good food, comfortable accommodations on new 108-foot topsail schooner. COASTWISE PACKET, Dept. 29, Vineyard Haven, Massachusetts.

ANTIGUA, WEST INDIES. Hotel Beachcomber where good will and good fellowship are found within—provided you bring them with you. See Travel Agent.

SAVE MONEY ON YOUR NEXT TRIP to New York by staying at the Hotel Paris. The Paris is like a Volkswagen . . . we offer all the essential services but no frills; comfort but not luxury; a swimming pool but no night club. Ask for leaflets, "New York for Free" and "How to Enjoy New York." Write to M. L. Walter, Hotel Paris, New York 10025.

IF YOU CAN PRONOUNCE ST. LUCIA*, you may wish to subscribe to the newsletter especially for Caribbean cognoscenti. What's new in investment opportunities, industrial development, off-beat islands, hotels, transportation. Twelve monthly issues airmailed anywhere, $10. (*St. LOO-sha). Caribbean Report, 509 Fifth Avenue, Suite 700, New York 10017.

ESCAPIST'S ISLAND. Completely informal. Good table. Private baths. Interesting people. Scenery. Do nothing or bird, fish, sun, swim, snorkel, sail. Thousands of flamingos, reef fishes and breezes. Low weekly rates, air fares. Flamingo Beach Club, Bonaire 1, Netherlands Antilles.

"OFF THE BEATEN PATH." $2.00—Hundreds of vacation, retirement spots at prewar prices. Satisfaction guaranteed or return for refund. Bestseller Books, 40-21X Bell, Bayside, N.Y. 11361.

YACHT CRUISING. Good selection comfortable cruising yachts—Caribbean, Greek Islands and French Inland Waterways. *For further information airmail: The International Marine Agency Limited, BCM/IMAL, London, W.C. 1.*

NEW YORK CITY, HOTEL BEDFORD, 40th Street, Just East of Park Avenue. For the discriminating guest who prefers a quiet and gracious hotel in the midst of New York's most convenient Grand Central area. Only one block from non-stop subway to the World's Fair . . . near all shopping and entertainment. Beautifully decorated rooms and suites . . . featuring fully equipped kitchenettes . . . private bath, air-conditioning and TV. . . . Ideal for families . . . Moderate rates. Continental Restaurant and Cocktail Lounge. Write Dept. SR for brochure.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KINGSLEY DOUBLE-CROSTIC NO. 1633

Reg. U.S. Patent Office

By Doris Nash Wortman

DEFINITIONS

A. Chiliadic

B. A person of height above the ordinary.

C. Describing a policeman or watchman in pursuit of his regular duty (3 wds.)

D. The striped maple.

E. Second term in an addition.

F. Describing many fruits as altered by much cultivation.

G. One of the things Nanki-Poo was clad in (*The Mikado*).

H. Mountains whose highest peak is 23,081 ft.

I. Whence Hercules's adversary Antaeus got his strength (2 wds.)

J. Opening 3 wds. of a familiar routine of Abbott and Costello.

K. The lapis lazuli (2 wds.)

L. What the falconer did for his bird after each stoop.

M. Docile; compliant.

N. Handsome seagull, whose Pacific variety may have red bill and feet.

WORDS

52 78 72 199 99 166 176 50 183 34

152 65 117 148 48 80 128 135 194 7

223 26 149 182 217 195 90 96 126 20 157

108 86 198 112 60 61 233 191 156

122 177 185 196 140 42

138 63 142 197 119 125 4 151

15 202 180 120 141

210 97 144 43 127

82 87 161 110 186 192 81 6 69 201 220

136 53 12 178 153 38 9 47 160 187 8

32 208 154 164 143 44 200 188 224 74

59 40 189 2 10 193 35 24

213 67 130 111 79 114 227

209 139 170 133 134 229 211 88 226

DEFINITIONS

O. Providing conclusive evidence regarding (3 wds.)

P. Periodic appearance of this natural phenomenon symbolizes Messianic redemption of Israel (2 wds.)

Q. Given name of early English author, whose patron was John of Gaunt.

R. In the open air.

S. Put into systematized expression.

T. Specifying the month in which "we'll find all the things that we seek."

U. Poetically, Switzerland.

V. Soothing ointment intended to rest the sight (2 wds.)

W. Small vessel fitted for both sails and oars, now used as a charge in heraldry.

X. Addition to U.S. Medal of Honor, D.S.M., or D.S.C., signifying multiple meritorious acts (2 wds. and comp.)

Y. A frog or toad.

Z. *The two-humped camel.*

Z1. Disease of Lima beans which attacks the seeds within the pods (2 wds.)

WORDS

25 31 71 106 113 118 101 95 75

19 179 165 147 100 107 64

225 173 58 105 162 91 235 84

216 3 207 13 103 163 41 169

57 70 11 234 184 167 159 145 221

115 232 146 55 5 49 203 212 158 131

215 150 21 27 56 174 206 37

29 231 190 124 92 168 181 14

155 102 123 68 116 230 129

66 83 39 222 172 132 89 94 85 104 121

109 218 205

204 137 219 171 175 93 62 51 17 30

36 18 214 228 77 28 46 23

1 54 22 16 33 73 45 76 98

DIRECTIONS

To solve this puzzle you must guess twenty-odd WORDS, the definitions of which are given in the column headed DEFINITIONS. Alongside each definition, there is a row of dashes—one for each letter in the required word. When you have guessed a word, write it on the dashes, and also write each letter in the correspondingly numbered square of the puzzle diagram . . . When the squares are all filled in, you will find that you have completed a quotation from some published work. If read up and down, the letters in the diagram have no meaning . . . Black squares indicate ends of words; if there is no black square at the right side of the diagram, the word carries over to the next line . . . When all the WORDS are filled in, their initial letters spell the name of the author and the title of the piece from which the quotation has been taken. Of great help to the solver are this acrostic feature and the relative shapes of words in the diagram as they develop. Authority for spellings and definitions is Webster's New International Dictionary, Second and Third Editions.

1 Z1	2 L	3 R		4 F	5 T	6 I	7 B	8 J		9 J	10 L	11 S		12 J	13 R	14 V	15 G
16 Z1	17 Y		18 Z	19 P	20 C		21 U	22 Z1	23 Z	24 L		25 O	26 C		27 U	28 Z	29 V
30 Y	31 O	32 K		33 Z1	34 A	35 L		36 Z	37 U	38 J	39 X	40 L	41 R		42 E	43 H	44 K
45 Z1	46 Z	47 J	48 B	49 T	50 A		51 Y		52 A	53 J	54 Z1	55 T	56 U	57 S	58 Q	59 L	60 D
	61 D	62 Y	63 F	64 P		65 B	66 X	67 M		68 W	69 I	70 S	71 O	72 A	73 Z1	74 K	
75 O	76 Z1	77 Z		78 A	79 M	80 B	81 I		82 I	83 A	84 Q		85 X	86 D	87 I	88 N	
89 X	90 C	91 Q		92 V	93 Y	94 X	95 O	96 C	97 H	98 Z1	99 A		100 P	101 O		102 W	103 R
104 X		105 Q	106 O	107 P	108 D		109 X	110 I	111 M		112 D	113 O	114 M	115 T	116 W		117 B
118 O	119 F	120 G		121 X	122 E	123 W		124 V	125 F	126 C	127 H	128 B	129 W		130 M	131 T	132 X
133 N		134 N	135 B		136 J	137 Y	138 F		139 N	140 E	141 G	142 F	143 K	144 H		145 S	146 T
147 P	148 B		149 C	150 U		151 F	152 B	153 J	154 K	155 W	156 D		157 C	158 T	159 S	160 J	161 I
	162 Q	163 R	164 K		165 P	166 A	167 S	168 V		169 R	170 N	171 Y	172 X	173 Q	174 U		175 Y
176 A	177 E		178 J	179 P	180 G	181 V	182 C	183 A	184 S	185 E	186 I		187 J	188 K		189 L	190 V
	191 D	192 I	193 L	194 B	195 C	196 E	197 F		198 D	199 A	200 K		201 I	202 G	203 T		204 Y
205 X	206 U	207 R	208 K	209 N	210 H		211 N	212 T	213 M		214 Z	215 U	216 R	217 C	218 X		219 Y
220 I	221 S		222 X	223 C	224 K	225 Q	226 N	227 M	228 Z		229 N	230 W	231 V		232 T	233 D	234 S 235 Q

Solution of last week's Double-Crostic will be found on page 8 of this issue.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ANSWER MA'AM

What are the structural characteristics of organic soaps? What is the minimum daily intake of water needed to sustain the human system? This Research Laboratories librarian at the General Motors Technical Center has the answers . . . or she'll find them. By background and training, she is well qualified to handle the more than 7,000 complex inquiries that come to the Research Laboratories library every year—not only from GM Technical Center personnel but from manufacturing divisions as well. Her credentials include a Master's degree in Library Science and years of practical experience.

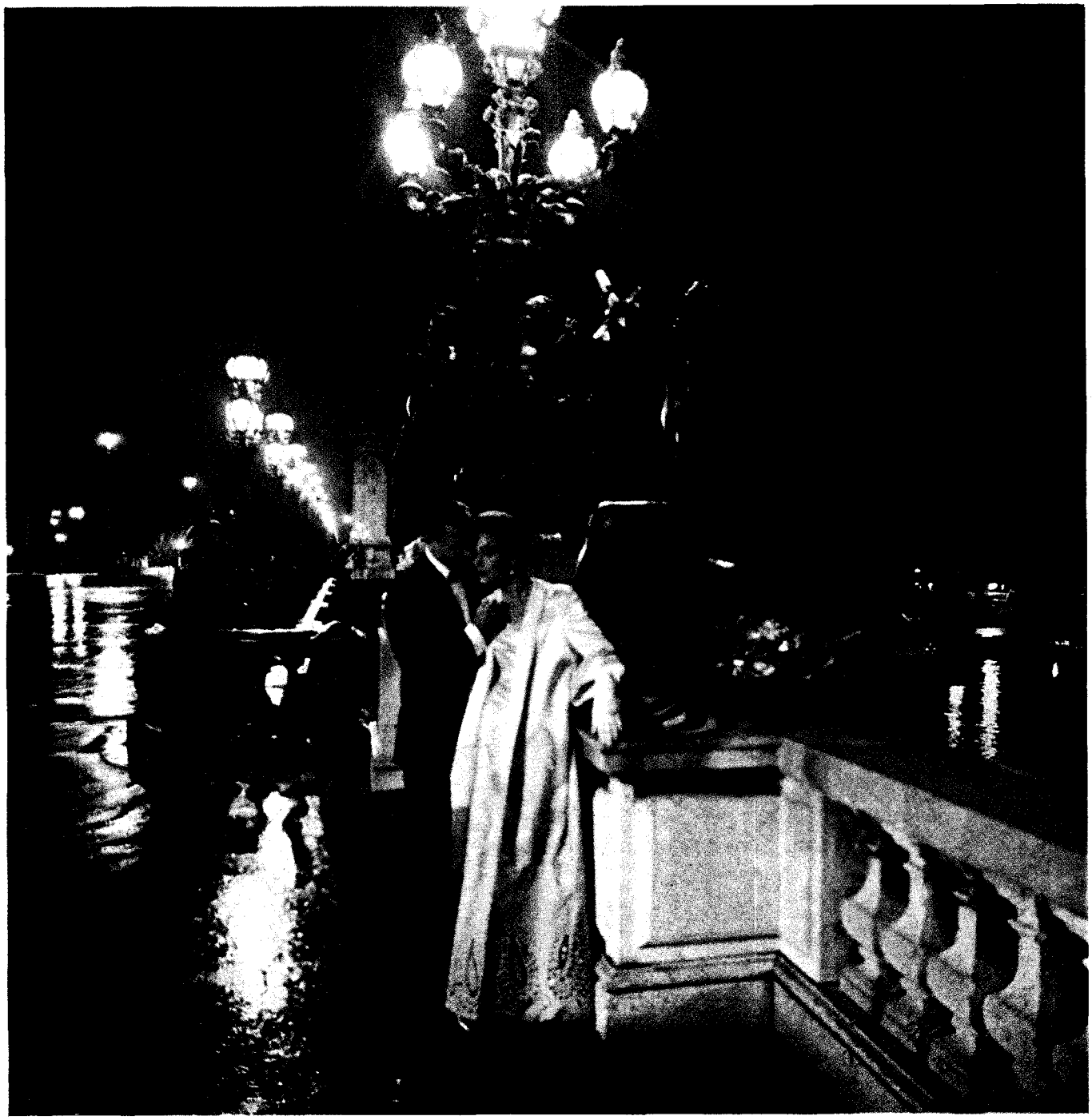
The job of people in research is to explore the unknown. But the usual first step in any project is to find out all about what is known. Here is where the librarian goes to work. She looks, digs, discovers . . . and *delivers* all the available data, all the background material.

There are some 78 librarians and assistants in 22 GM libraries across the country. Their education, training and experience make them important people at General Motors.

General Motors Is People...

making better things for you

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



How many dates have you broken with Paris?

Turn over a new leaf this Autumn. That's what Paris will do.

She'll bid her farewells to summer crowds. Her air will be brisk and devil-may-care. And knowing Frenchmen will be back from their warm-weather hideaways to fall in love with her all over again.

Say you'll be there for all the new shows, new clothes, new wines and new memories.

And say you'll fly the world's most experienced airline. You'll make things so much easier for yourself.

We have straight-through service from the U.S. to Paris and 26 other European cities. (That's more than twice as many as anyone else.) We also have the most flights.

Ask us about one of our low 14-21 day Jet Economy tickets. And plan to take off with us for Europe from any one of 17 cities 'round the country.

Wherever you go, you'll have the good feeling that comes from flying the very best there is.

Just call a Pan Am Travel Agent or any Pan Am office. Ask for Paris.

World's most experienced airline

PAN AM

FIRST ON THE ATLANTIC
FIRST ON THE PACIFIC
FIRST IN LATIN AMERICA
FIRST 'ROUND THE WORLD

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED